

FIGHT RACISM!

FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the
Revolutionary Communist Group

British solutions
for Ireland:

BEWARE FALSE FRIENDS

The Irish crisis is once again moving towards a climax as more hunger strikers approach death. As the anger of the nationalist people threatens once again to burst onto the streets there has been a flurry of activity in the citadels of British imperialism. A wave of 'solutions' has come from those whose only concern is desperation to head off the growing threats to British imperialism in Ireland. All of them have one characteristic in common – they deny the right of the Irish people to self-determination. All come from long-standing enemies of the working class and oppressed peoples. All are British-imposed solutions.

The first, from Humphrey Atkins, is to set up an Advisory Council of Loyalist thugs and middle class Catholic traitors to advise British imperialism on how best to contain the nationalist resistance and defeat the IRA. This contempt for the Irish people will deceive no one.

The second, from that old imperialist Labour lag James Callaghan, wealthy farmer and the man who sent British troops into Ireland, is for an independent northern statelet. Having failed to subdue the nationalist minority and determined to deny self-determination to the Irish people, this disgusting wretch has finally called for an independent Loyalist state. This is Labour democracy. To propose independence for an artificial British-imposed Loyalist police state, which is based on the denial of the democratic rights of the nationalist minority and the denial of self-determination to the Irish people as a whole. Again, no one will be deceived.

The third comes from the Party whose treacherous record on Ireland is second to none – the Labour Party. The flag of the Labour Party is red only because it is stained

with the blood of the Irish people. The record of the Labour Party says it all.
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Labour's record on Ireland

1913/14 Betrayed the Dublin workers during Dublin strikes and lock-out
1916 Murdered James Connolly and applauded the suppression of the Easter Rising

1921/22 Supported Partition and the reactionary 26 Counties 'Free State'
1939 Supported anti-Irish Prevention of Violence Act

1949 Legalised the Loyalist police state in the North by a new Government of Ireland Act

1969 Sent British troops into the North of Ireland
1974 Introduced the racist, anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act

1976 Withdrew Special Category Status. The H-Block protest and hunger strike are results of this.

1978/9 Agreed to give extra seats to Loyalists to keep Labour Government in power

1981 Applauded the death of Irish hunger strikers



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UPRISING

On the nights of 3-5 July, the flames of revolutionary rebellion lit up the streets of Liverpool 8. Then on 7-9 July they spread to Moss Side Manchester. Hundreds of black and white youth united in common hatred of their oppressor, the British state, engaged in fierce battles against the racist police.

After hours long pitched battles, and to the terror of the ruling class, the youths drove the police out of Liverpool 8. Liverpool 8 became a no go area for the forces of British imperialism. In Moss Side Manchester, hundreds of working class youth laid siege, two nights running, on Moss Side police station.

The revolutionary youth of Britain – from St Paul's to Brixton and now from Southall to Liverpool 8 and Moss Side and Brixton again – are learning fast the lessons of the revolutionary Irish people's struggle against British imperialism. No wonder a policeman in Liverpool 8 in his moment of defeat and despair uttered: 'To think this is England – it was more like Belfast.'

In the heartland of British imperialism, we are witnessing the emergence of a truly revolutionary working class movement. The RCG alone in seeing in black youth the vanguard forces of the British revolution has again been proved correct. The corrupt and imperialist Labour Party and its middle class allies with their peaceful constitutionalism belong to the past. The future of the communist movement in Britain is with the forces of St Paul's and of Brixton, of Southall and of Liverpool 8 and Manchester – the forces of revolution.

see pages 6 and 7

Joe McDonnell

On Wednesday 8 July Joe McDonnell became the fifth Irish Republican prisoner of war to be murdered by British imperialism in the current hunger strike.

In the early 70s Joe and his family were driven out of their home by loyalist intimidation. In 1972 Joe was lifted in a 4.00am raid, beaten up and interned. After his release he joined the IRA recognising that imperialism could not be reformed – it had to be destroyed. It was this same understanding that led Joe



REPUBLICAN NEWS

McDonnell to volunteer for the hunger strike and, eventually, to give his life in the battle for political status.

The RCG sends its deepest sympathy and condolences to the family, comrades and friends of this heroic Irish freedom fighter murdered by British imperialism.

Support a monthly FRFI

FRFI! is going monthly in September – the political situation demands it. But to do this we urgently need your help and support.

- Support FRFI!
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BEWARE FALSE FRIENDS

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The proposals from the Labour Party Study Group are for a commitment to re-unite Ireland in the long term. This is to be achieved by agreement and consent. Partition, they say, must not be ended by threats, coercion or force. This means, as they well know, that it cannot be ended at all. They show the true Labour Party spirit towards democracy when they further propose a) no immediate withdrawal of British troops, b) no granting of political status or the five demands, c) no return of trial by jury. The Study Group, we should point out, includes those directly responsible for British murder and torture in Ireland, Roy Mason and Merlin Rees, and 'left-wingers' who have tolerated this murder and torture in Ireland, Jo Richardson, Martin Flannery and Jock Stallard. It says everything about the nature of the Labour Lefts that they should have had little difficulty in reaching consensus with those imperialist butchers, Mason and Rees. Let no one have any doubts, new treachery is being prepared. By this cheap gesture of vague and meaningless talk of a united Ireland the Labour Party hopes to rescue its tattered image and buy – a small bribe would do – its so-called left wing.

The fourth solution comes from that pink charlatan Anthony Wedgewood-Benn. His solution is to change the army of occupation from British to UN troops. Benn was in the Governments which sent the troops into Ireland, which introduced the Prevention of Terrorism Act and which removed Special Category Status for Irish prisoners. He has never supported political status and has refused on numerous occasions to speak out publicly on the hunger strike. He is 'raising' the question of Ireland only to preserve his 'left' credentials and to satisfy – a not too demanding task – his middle class socialist friends.

In itself this apparent movement in the Labour lefts' position on the reunification of Ireland is of little importance. They, among the other imperialists, are simply manoeuvring to find new means of preserving British imperialist rule in Ireland. That they have assumed a significance beyond this is solely the responsibility of the British middle class socialist left – the SWP, IMG, and CPGB. They have hailed these developments in the Labour Party as signs of great change. They have used them to justify their own long-standing alliance with and subservience to the Labour left. They have used them to give credence to their refusal to support the revolutionary forces in Ireland. They have used them to justify their position that British imperialism need not use repression in Ireland. And finally they have used them to justify their own view

that revolutionary violence is not only unnecessary but, indeed is counter-productive in the struggle to end Partition in Ireland. Terrified of revolutionary violence, these middle class socialists must spread the illusion that the Irish can, by constitutional means, persuade British imperialism, under the guidance of a future left Labour Government, to re-unite Ireland and withdraw British forces. All their activity during the hunger strikes has been directed towards covering up for the Labour left. They have refused to campaign for political status; they have refused to fight bans on hunger strike marches; they have refused to even ask Labour MP's to move the writ for the Fermanagh and South Tyrone by-election. In a word they have refused to do anything that might possibly expose their Labour friends. In practice this has meant, in Britain, refusing to campaign on the hunger strike issue at all. There can be no doubt that the SWP/IMG/CP and other middle class socialist groups are as guilty as British imperialism for the murder of the hunger strikers.

These middle class socialists and their counterparts in Ireland have been trying to convince the Irish people that there is some hope of winning the Labour Party to support the right of the Irish people to self-determination. Our Irish comrades and friends would be making a great mistake in believing this. The Communist William Paul, as long ago as 1921 recognised the true nature of the Labour Party:

'In lending every assistance to Ireland, it is not only necessary for us to attack the Government, but also to warn our Irish friends that the political and trade union leaders of the British Labour movement are as dangerous to them as even a Lloyd George or a Hamar Greenwood. The cowardly ineptitude of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, so far as Ireland is concerned, is at once humiliating and treacherous. The barefaced betrayals of Ireland and her workers by the British trade-union leaders is on a level par with that of the Labour Party. We assure our Irish friends that these elements are being exposed by the Communists.'

Nothing has changed. Today as then, the Labour Party and their middle class socialist supporters are a left cover for British imperialism. Treacherous and back stabbing they are the false friends of the Irish people.

Last week, *An Phoblacht/Republican News* gave a simple answer to these false friends:

'The Irish Republican Army is right: the British government does not listen to the ballot box in Ireland and the only thing they will listen to in Ireland is what they listened to in other colonies: agitation, rebellion and armed force.'

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Over the weekend 4-5 July and up to the murder of Joe McDonnell on Wednesday 8 July, the prisoners made a clear effort to settle the hunger strike. The statement issued by the prisoners on Saturday 4 July was as far as they could go without abandoning their demands. The British government has clearly and publicly rejected this attempt at a settlement. They have underlined this rejection by the attack on Joe McDonnell's funeral and by three murders in two days: two teenagers shot dead and one woman, mother of three, killed with a plastic bullet.

This rejection shows beyond doubt that the British ruling class is not out for compromise. Its only concern is to undermine and demoralise the prisoners and their steadfast supporters. The only conclusion that revolutionaries can draw from these events is that nothing but fear will move the British ruling class: fear of insurrection and a growing revolutionary challenge to its rule in Ireland. Those who continue to deny this obvious truth are only aiding the British ruling class in its efforts to impose a humiliating settlement on the prisoners.

Throughout the hunger strike the middle class socialists in Britain have obstructed and sabotaged every attempt to build a mass campaign in support of the prisoners whether on political status or on the five demands. They bear the responsibility for allowing the British ruling class to engage in such callous manoeuvres at the expense of the lives of the prisoners.

The only way forward in both Britain and Ireland is to build an anti-imperialist campaign of such strength and militancy that it will force the British ruling class to grant the demands of the prisoners.

Hunger strike goes on

If the British government thought that the repetition of their intransigent attitude in their statement read to the prisoners after Joe McDonnell's death would at last break the prisoners' spirit they soon got their answer. Only a few hours after the death of Joe McDonnell the prisoners announced that he was being replaced on hunger strike by another prisoner, Pat McGeown from Belfast. At the same time outside the H-Blocks the nationalist working class also showed that they were far from being demoralised – indeed this latest example of the callousness and deceit of the British government only fuelled their anger. The militant youth took to the streets once more in Belfast, Derry and Newry, and on the afternoon of 8 July nationalist working class people throughout Belfast walked out to attend protest rallies in different areas of the city.

At one such rally on the Falls Road the speakers

reiterated the determination of those outside the prisons to continue to support the prisoners until their demands were met. Loud applause also greeted the reference by one speaker to the riots in Liverpool. He pointed out that the racist British government had refused to authorise the use of plastic bullets there because they were too dangerous, yet such bullets were freely used to kill and seriously injure Irish people – only that morning in fact a woman had been critically injured by a plastic bullet while further up the Falls Road a young man had been shot dead by the British Army. After the rally the crowd marched up the Falls Road to the home of Joe McDonnell's widow, not only to show their sympathy with her loss but also as a demonstration to the British government that they remain as determined as the prisoners themselves to continue the struggle for which Joe McDonnell gave his life.

Present Hunger Strikers

Those presently on hunger strike are: Kieran Doherty TD, Kevin Lynch, Martin Hurson, Thomas McElwee, Paddy Quinn, Michael Devine, Lawrence McKeown, Pat McGeown. **Victory to the Hunger Strikers!**

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now!

LEEDS

Monday 27 July 7.30pm
Leeds Trades Club, Saville Mount

BRADFORD

Thursday 23 July 7.30pm
Room 3, Central Library

NORTH LONDON

Thursday 16 July 7.30pm
North Library Manor Gardens (off Holloway Road) (Nearst tube Archway)

SOUTH LONDON

Wednesday 22 July 7.30pm
Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton

GLASGOW

For details ask your local FRFI sellers

EDINBURGH

For details ask your local FRFI sellers

MANCHESTER

Wednesday 15 July 7.30
Moss Side Peoples Centre, St Mary Street, Moss Side, (opposite the Precinct)

Brixton/Belfast Forces of Revolution LIVERPOOL

Monday 27 July 7.30pm
AUEW Hall Mount Pleasant Liverpool 3.

The Fightback Against Racism SOUTH LONDON

Wednesday 26 August 7.30pm
Lambeth Town Hall Brixton

South London Hunger Strike Action Committee

Meets every Thursday to plan activities in support of the Hunger Strikers. 7.30pm
Buckmaster House, Stockwell Park Estate, Brixton

North London Hunger Strike Action Committee

Meets every Thursday to plan activities in support of the Hunger Strikers. 7.30pm at
Mitford Centre, Mitford Road (off Tollington Way)

National Demonstrations

Victory to the Hunger Strikers

Manchester

Saturday 18 July
Assemble:
All Saints, Oxford Road
1.30pm

Leeds

Wednesday 29 July
Assemble:
Potternewton Park
Harehills Ave, Leeds 7
1pm



Railton Road Office Broken Into! Money Urgently Needed to Replace Machinery!

On 1 July our office was broken into and badly damaged. Typewriters, tape recorders and many other essential items were stolen and extensive damage done.

This is an added burden at a time when our financial situation is already in a already stretched with moving premises and preparing for a monthly FRFI!

Help the revolutionary cause by sending as big a donation as you can to:
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BCM Box 5909
London WC1N 3XX

Hunger Strike campaign in Britain

Throughout Britain, the RCG's work has shown that working class support can be won to the revolutionary campaign for political status. It has proved that if all so-called socialists had put their efforts behind the campaign then an effective movement could have been built. But the IMG and SWP refused to campaign for the prisoners, since any such campaign endangers their alliance with the Imperialist Labour Party. They have quite cold-bloodedly chosen not to even mobilise their own members in support of the hunger strikers.

Further they have deliberately sabotaged the work that is being done by the RCG and other forces. They have dissolved committees, opposed marches and boycotted activities. As their excuse for this treachery they have argued that in Britain the campaign must only be for the Five Demands, not for Political Status. But the reality is that there has been *no* campaign on the Five Demands. The middle class socialists' attempt to restrict the campaign to 'humanitarian' demands has not only driven away vital working class support, but also given an ideal cover for the inaction and sabotage of the IMG, SWP and Labour Lefts who fear the revolutionary struggle in Ireland and its consequences in Britain.

The period since the murder of four hunger strikers should have seen a major effort to build a mass campaign in Britain to ensure victory to the hunger strikers and prevent any more deaths. The RCG spared no effort to do this. Up and down the country, working through local committees, street meetings, local marches, public meetings and pickets have been organised. The middle class socialists in contrast have added to their catalogue of sabotage and were reduced to virtual inactivity during this critical period. Everywhere they have tried to sabotage successful work and prevent any criticism of the pro-imperialist Labour Party.

Liverpool where after a highly successful local march attracting many new people to the local committee, the IMG/SWP/TOM/Big Flame and the ICL packed a meeting on 8 June and carried a motion to dissolve the committee. This while men lay dying in Long Kesh! The RCG and independent supporters had fought for and carried a programme of local work, meetings and pickets of Labour MPs who refused to support the hunger strikers. The SWP's North West organiser speaking for the dissolution of the committee said that Benn's recent comments on Ireland were a 'great step forward for the Labour Party'. Hence to protect Benn and his ilk the committee must cease to exist! The racism of these middle class socialists, always near the surface, came out when a TOM member, a college lecturer told a 16 year old working class black girl to 'f... off.' The departure of the middle class did not mean the committee has ceased to exist. Work is continuing and already a highly successful picket on Heffer has been held. Heffer like the hypocrite he is boasted of having supported the withdrawal of special category status and refused to publicly speak out on Ireland.

London consistent with their desire to protect the Labour MPs was the SWP's and IMG's sabotage of a picket on the Labour NEC. They had between them and the RCT promised to send 80 people; only 11 turned up, and of course with no banners to identify themselves. They were highly embarrassed by anti-Labour Party slogans chanted by RCG supporters who proved support for this view by selling almost 30 copies of FRFI to passers-by. The IMG and SWP also 'promised' to send members and banners to a picket of the People's March concert - only Mr Gerry Fitzpatrick materialised.

North London the left has achieved the record of not supporting a single activity organised by the North London Hunger Strike Action Committee. These have included weekly street meetings, a local march, pickets of Islington Council, Islington Trades Council and the local Labour MP Michael O'Halloran which forced him to publicly declare support for the prisoners.

South London The IMG and SWP have been conspicuous by their absence from pickets organised against Labour MP John Fraser, who refused to even see a delegation from the picket. The South London Hunger Strike Action Committee has also organised a picket against John Tilley MP who claims to support the 5 demands but has done absolutely nothing in Parliament about it.

Manchester Following the expulsion of the RCG from the impotent Manchester Hunger Strike Committee, the RCG formed a separate committee open to all who support the hunger strikers, and has organised street meetings, a

local demonstration and picketed Labour MP George Morton who refused to support political status saying 'it was not as simple as that'.

Scotland Faced with continuing bans and harassment, the RCG has widened its field of work to gain support for the hunger strikers to Dundee, Fife and Dunfermline. In Dundee on 1 July under the auspices of FRFI and the Irish Solidarity Committee, a successful public meeting of over 40 people was organised. This after the SWP had cancelled a meeting on the hunger strike because the local Labour Council refused to sponsor it. On 4 July, following a street rally the comrades plan to form a Hunger Strike Action Committee.

29 July National Demonstration in Leeds The Leeds Hunger Strike Committee agreed to an RCG proposal that on the day of the sickening Royal Wedding, a demonstration be held in Leeds in support of the hunger strikers. The SWP, IMG and TOM *all* opposed this. Their grounds for this demonstration of patriotic sentiment was that people would be watching the Royal Wedding on TV and no one would come to the demonstration. A likely story that the poor and oppressed would be glued to TV's watching the most obnoxious ceremony of a Royal Wedding!

Their sabotage was defeated. The march is going ahead. But already these middle class vermin have succeeded in changing the agreed basis of the march from Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now! to the 5 demands. The RCG argued against this, but having been defeated, will in *no* way lessen its support and mobilisation. This in contrast to the IMG and SWP, who on the Leeds Committee proudly announced that their Central Committees had voted *against* supporting the demonstration. In **Birmingham** the IMG and SWP voted to 'support' the march, but voted *against* mobilising for it! On the London Committee the IMG and SWP voted against the committee's decision to extend its support for the march. But now that the demonstration is on the basis of the 5 demands, the IMG and SWP have *no* excuse left whatsoever to refuse support for the march. But already the IMG and SWP rather than support the Leeds demonstration on 29 July are organising picnics and day trips instead. So low have they sunk in their opposition to a revolutionary mobilisation that on the Leeds Committee, a member of TOM arguing against a revolutionary leaflet said 'the reading age in Chapelown was probably 12 years of age!' This racism is typical of the college lecturers, social workers and middle-aged hippies who make up the SWP and IMG.

We call on all revolutionaries, all anti-imperialists to show where they stand on 29 July. Stand with the Irish and march in Leeds.

Letter from anti-imperialists

Supporters of the Irish Republican cause in Dundee made a break with the past and a promising new beginning at a public meeting at which the video film 'Ireland's Hunger Strike' was shown. The meeting attracted nearly 50 people. It is the tradition of public meetings in Dundee to attract only a handful of people allied to the British left groups, so this was indeed a break with the left record of treachery and scabbing on the Republican cause and movement.

The meeting was jointly organised by the Revolutionary Communist Group and the newly formed ad hoc Irish Solidarity Committee. The Irish Solidarity Committee is comprised of former members of the Dundee Troops Out Movement Branch, which we decided to dissolve earlier this year. Since that TOM Branch was formed in 1979, we have progressively despaired of the various left groups that persistently boast of their Marxism, internationalism and revolutionism and do nothing in practice. In fact, the SWP recently decided to cancel a meeting on Ireland because they could not get the Labour Party to sponsor it. Our fears about what TOM was doing other than nothing have gathered weight over the last couple of years when we read reports of the last two conferences. According to internal TOM bulletins, both rigging and bureaucratic manoeuvring occurred on a scale to put the most right-wing trade union Labour Party members to shame. The final straw was when both the SWP and the IMG withdrew support from a march in support of the POWs in Glasgow last February under the threat of Orange thuggery. It was after this that we dissolved the Dundee TOM Branch and formed the ad hoc Irish Solidarity Committee. After this we approached the RCG and jointly organised the Video film/Public Meeting. This was after years of SWP/IMG propaganda in which the RCG were labelled as sectarian ultra left, ie they give total unconditional support for Irish Republicanism. We recognise that the position of the RCG is the only just and principled position that anyone claiming to be a socialist or communist can take. We look forward to greater and closer cooperation in future with the RCG and so will other genuine communists, socialists and anti-imperialists.

Yours fraternally,
G.M.
for Irish Solidarity Committee Dundee



Peoples March to Nowhere

The reactionary alliance between the TUC and British imperialism was evident on the Peoples March to Nowhere. To please the ruling class, the TUC did its level best to suppress any expression of support for the Irish Hunger Strikers.

On Saturday 30 May, the RCG organised an open air rally in support of the hunger strikers at the Rock for Jobs concert in Brockwell Park at the end of the march. As the rally began attracting a large audience, TUC stewards moved in to try and break it up. They failed. The RCG resisted the thuggish behaviour of the TUC stewards, who tried to pull down banners and silence the speakers. In response the RCG speakers renewed their attacks on the racist, imperialist TUC and Labour Party. With applause from the growing audience the TUC bully boys were forced to retreat. The meeting continued successfully and when a gang of fascists tried to continue the work done by the TUC, they were chased off by the 300 strong rally.

Glasgow: arrests at CND rally

The big CND Glasgow Rally on 7 June became the scene of a showdown with Glasgow's loyalist police over their suppression of Hunger-strike activists. Members of the Glasgow Hunger-strike Action Committee and FRFI sellers were there leafletting and selling to the 6-7000 assembled. Suddenly 4 policemen descended on a woman activist who was sitting on the ground talking to people. They lifted her bodily, seized her leaflets and collecting tin and dragged her off.

A crowd followed and as it grew in size, police were immobilised and stood pinned against a park railing surrounding the woman. The crowd shouted: 'Free speech on Ireland!' 'Police out!' 'Let her go!' CND stewards rushed over to help the policemen, saying they didn't want 'any trouble'. 'Tell the police that!' yelled the crowd. Young CNDers shouted 'Scab' 'Police touts' at them and drowned them out.

Police reinforcements arrived and the crowd was manhandled and thrown about. Two young people who were thrown against the police van were assaulted and arrested and the van sped off.

Police refused to say which station they were being taken to but a large number of people milled around eager to pursue the matter. Many gave their names and addresses to an SCCL member present and to FRFI supporters on the scene.

The woman was detained all night in Stewart street police station for refusing to co-operate with fingerprinting. Next morning she appeared at Glasgow District Court charged with 'Breach of the peace by collecting for Glasgow Hunger-strike Action Committee'. The police are determined to criminalise any and every attempt to build a solidarity campaign in Scotland - because they are terrified of the anti-imperialist feeling in a significant section of the Scottish working class.

The CND organisers stood completely exposed to the radical youth and others who witnessed their pro-police feeling. This pacifist campaign is enlisting angry working class youth and diverting their energies into long marches to nowhere. A significant section saw the truth on Sunday 7 June in Glasgow. We ask them to step forward, and enlist in the revolutionary fight with FRFI.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Namibia: hypocrisy of imperialism

When in May, Britain, France and the USA vetoed UN Security Council resolutions for economic sanctions against South Africa, Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO explained:

'SWAPO is, however, not surprised by this arrogant use of veto. We have repeatedly made it clear that... the Western countries can go to any extent in their determined efforts to install a neo-colonial puppet regime in Namibia which will dutifully safeguard economic, political and strategic interests in the name of the "Western Christian civilisation". The use of triple vetoes... simply exposes the hypocrisy and immorality of imperialism.'

This has been confirmed by subsequent developments. Led by US imperialism, Britain is now determined to revise UN Resolution 435 on Namibia. This UN plan would guarantee SWAPO an overwhelming victory in any peaceful settlement. In 1978 it was supported by all imperialist powers because they believed they could militarily crush SWAPO and install the collaborationist Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. But today SWAPO enjoys unrivalled political support amongst the black masses, and its army—the People's Liberation Army—is more effective than ever. UN Resolution 435 has, therefore, become unacceptable to imperialism.

'The right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence is not negotiable.'

The US has just revealed its new proposals for Namibia. They call for 'a formula that reduces SWAPO's advantages' and states that the DTA 'needs 12-18 months to get into a better position to compete with SWAPO'. The same memorandum insists that any constitution must guarantee private property from expropriation, include a bill of (white) minority rights and pledge any incoming government to prohibit organisations 'hostile to a neighbouring state'—namely ANC freedom fighters—and to remain 'neutral' internationally. A pre-condition for this 'independence' will be resolving the Angolan question to the advantage of imperialism. The US memorandum calls for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the inclusion of UNITA—a counter-revolutionary, South African supplied organisation—in the Angolan government.

These proposals, designed to deny the Namibian people their right to self-determination and to defeat the Angolan revolution, are being passed off by Britain and the USA as nothing more than a 'strengthening' of Resolution 435! SWAPO has already rejected these manoeuvres and has stated:

'The right of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence is not negotiable. We therefore denounce and totally reject the stated position of the Reagan administration pre-conditioning the independence of our country to the so-called "security interests of South African borders".'

The armed struggle against imperialism will now intensify and the duty of all communists in Britain is to fully support every move and action to foil these latest imperialist conspiracies.

**Victory to SWAPO!
Victory to the People's Liberation Army.**



ANC STRIKES BACK

In the last week of May, the apartheid state celebrated 20 years of racist oppression in South Africa. The celebrations of 'Republic Day' were possible only after placing the apartheid army and police on alert and mobilising the 200,000 strong white Civil Defence Force, for as Secretary General of the ANC, Alfred Nzo said:

'...the entire black population...demonstrated their total opposition...not only through political protests but by violent means which have virtually turned the whole country into a battlefield.'

During the week leading to 31 May, the ANC's military wing—Umkhonto we Sizwe—struck hard and fast. Power lines in the Orange Free State were cut and the main rail line in Port Elizabeth was blown up. ANC guerrillas launched grenade attacks against police stations in East London and Mdantsane and the rail link between Soweto and Johannesburg was blown up as was the Durban rail line. In Durban, ANC bombs blasted the military recruiting offices causing hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of damage. The sound of explosions could be heard miles away in the white suburbs.

As well as this military offensive, every town in South Africa was the scene of massive protests and demonstrations against the apartheid regime. While whites celebrated with champagne and wine, the apartheid state attacked black demonstrators with batons, dogs and teargas. But the rebellious spirit of the masses was not dampened. In Johannesburg for example, the police tried to disperse a mass rally by issuing a bomb scare. On hearing the news the hall resounded to thunderous cheering and the people refused to move. The armed police moved in to disperse them. Again in Johannesburg's Chris Botha High School, 150 students barricaded themselves inside and went on hunger strike in protest against apartheid. The cause of the black masses' hatred of the apartheid regime's celebrations was expressed in a simple statement to a public rally by the President of the General and Allied Workers Union, Sam Ndou:

ent of the General and Allied Workers Union, Sam Ndou:

'Our leaders are in prison. Our children starve. There is no cause to celebrate... We are dedicated to freedom—nothing will stop us. There are a few capitalists and political thugs who control this land. It is for you and me to face them and bring them down.'

The struggle to bring down this regime continues—with the ANC's army, on the streets, in schools, universities and in the factories. The period of the celebrations was also marked by massive strikes against British, US and other imperialist factories. At the Sigma Motor Corporation, 4,000 black workers struck and achieved partial union recognition. 3,000 workers at Fords and Firestone went on strike in solidarity with 160 sacked Firestone workers. They achieved a partial victory forcing management to reinstate some of the workers. At the Cape Town British Leyland plant, production was halted and 2,000 workers sacked for going on strike. The management is now trying to recruit cheaper black women's labour. The Leyland defeat however promises to be only temporary. An Eastern Cape car industry representative declared:

'...we can expect many new and more militant trade unions to appear on the scene. It is a frightening prospect.'

ANC LEADS middle class socialists criticise

Hundreds of thousands of black workers and students participated in protests against the 20th anniversary apartheid Republic Day celebrations. A striking feature of these protests was the demonstration of powerful support for the African National Congress—South Africa (ANC).

● On 26 May, 1500 people attended an anti-Republic Day rally at the University of Cape Town. The Freedom Charter—programme of the ANC—and the words of *Nkosi Sikelele i Africa*—anthem of the ANC—were displayed on the stage. On the platform, an empty chair was reserved for the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

● On 27 May, 1000 students rallied in the main hall of the University of the Western Cape. Their fists raised in salute, they chanted AMANDLA! as flames leapt from a burning South African flag. As the flag disintegrated, another bearing the black, green and gold colours of the banned ANC was hoisted up against a background of banners and

posters spelling out the demands of the Freedom Charter.

● On May 31, at a mass rally in Soweto militant youth put to flames 8 South African flags and raised aloft 50 ANC ones. Thousands of copies of the Freedom Charter and leaflets signed by the ANC and Voice of Women—ANC were distributed at the rally.

These are but the most vivid and colourful expressions of mass support for the ANC and it is against this reality that the IMG, SWP and RCT who continually slander the ANC will be judged. The IMG claims that the ANC is:

'...posturing as the leader of everything that goes on in South Africa... (The ANC's) ability to influence the course of events in South Africa remains nil.'

The SWP for its part believes:

'...the ANC (leadership) have typically been petit-bourgeois both in social composition and ideology.'

FREEDOM DAY RALLY

On 26 June, the ANC organised a 700 strong rally in London to commemorate the 26th anniversary of South African Freedom Day, the day the ANC's Freedom Charter was adopted. Those present heard Oliver Tambo, President ANC (SA) call upon them to step up their support for the ANC's struggle. He attacked the West for its policy in Southern Africa and defended the ANC's use of weapons from the Soviet Union by asking 'would we have weapons if the Soviet Union did not donate them?' He stated that 'Britain is the source of our misery in South Africa' and said it should be asked of the British people 'what is their true role in South Africa?' The meeting was chaired by John Gaetsewe, Secretary General SACTU, and also addressed by Armando Guebuza, deputy Defence Minister, Mozambique, a representative from the Central Committee SWAPO, and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President AAM.

These black protests against the apartheid republic merged with massive commemorations on June 16 of the 5th anniversary of the heroic uprising of Soweto youth. They are declarations of war against a British-sustained regime in which the 70% black population owns only 13% of the land, while the 16% whites own 86%. In 1978 black wages were R132 per month, white R585. Infant mortality in the 1-4 age group is 13 times higher than that of whites. A black child has R54 per annum spent on education, a white R551. Over the past 30 years, over 2 million, mostly women and children, were deported to the arid and starving bantustans. And since 1960 more than 17,000 people have been detained by the regime's police.

Imperialism is now moving fast to protect and consolidate the apartheid regime. Chester Crocker, American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs declared that the racist regime 'is making a serious and honest effort to move away from apartheid.' The ANC's response to this shameless liar is one that all Communists wholeheartedly endorse:

'The intentions of the United States are clear to everyone, and that is to protect the Pretoria regime not only for the immense profits and riches the USA reaps from our people's exploitation and oppression, but also as the last bastion of the imperialist camp in Southern Africa...'

We call upon progressive mankind to ignore the profit-drunk utterances of the Crockers which support a bloodbath in our country, and pressurise instead for practical all round support for our national liberation movement and the application of comprehensive economic sanctions against the minority apartheid regime till People's Victory.'

While the RCT not to be outdone writes:

'Today the ANC stands compromised with the South African working class... (it) degrades the liberation struggle... the ANC was nowhere to be seen in Soweto.'

Clearly these middle class socialists, themselves petit-bourgeois and with no influence in the working class do not want to see the truth. Their terror of the anti-imperialist struggle and their fear of powerful national liberation movements simply blinds them to reality and leads them to oppose the vanguard of the South African revolution. It is truly said of them 'that he who clings to shallow things... finds his happiness unearthing worms'.

Critics of Soviet Union please note
The following statement by Armando Guebuza, Deputy Defence Minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, is the oppressed's reply to the IMG's and SWP's constant attacks on the USSR's international role:

'All our military equipment comes from the Eastern bloc... The West has never supplied any arms to Mozambique... The West avoids supporting any democratic, really democratic movements.'

EL SALVADOR

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) formed in January 1980, united the major armed organisations of El Salvador's workers and peasants. Simultaneously, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) came into existence uniting into a single political body the country's mass popular organisations. The FMLN/FDR representing the military-political alliance of El Salvador's workers and peasants was established:

'To overthrow the reactionary military dictatorship of the oligarchy and Yankee imperialism, imposed and sustained against the will of the Salvadorean people for fifty years; to destroy its criminal political-military machine; and to establish a *revolutionary democratic government* founded on the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces in the People's Army and the Salvadorean People.'

In the following 18 months of fierce nationwide war, the united revolutionary forces have gone from strength to strength. Despite genocidal repression, despite massive US military aid to the dictatorship, the FMLN has now established near complete control of the Northern provinces of Morazan, Chalatenango and Cabanas. The FMLN is also in control of large parts of San Vicente and other provinces. In these liberated zones the oppressed masses are establishing their own political and military power as the ruling force. The guerrillas have imposed 'war taxes' for the wealthy who enter or leave liberated territory. Peasants are now able, under the protection of the FMLN, to sow their crops. Popular power committees of workers and peasants, known as Poder Farabundista, have taken control of food distribution, health care and education. To consolidate and extend this revolutionary power the FMLN is planning to form a Provisional Government based in Morazan.

These political and military advances and the spectre of revolutionary workers and peasants power sweeping across the whole country has driven the junta and its US backers into a frenzied orgy of barbarism. The ruling class, 2% of the population, in alliance with US imperialists, control 60% of the land producing coffee, sugar and bananas and all the industrial wealth of the country. On the other side hundreds of thousands of landless families and factory workers are on the edge of starvation, ruthlessly exploited and have no prospect but violence and death. This is the system that imperialism is defending with systematic and organised terror. So far this year 7,081 people have been murdered and the daily death toll at the hands of right wing fascist squads has risen to 50.

Having failed by this counter-revolutionary terror, to cow the masses into submission and split them from the FMLN, the junta in March, April, May and June launched a full scale military offensive against FMLN controlled territory. Its declared aim was to crush and destroy the organised military resistance of the FMLN within four months. Having thus beheaded the mass movement, it intends to dress up the image of the regime by calling elections in which only the surviving parties—those of the wealthy—could participate. The workers and peasants would be 'put in their place' and the regime's obscenity disguised from the world by fraudulent elections.

This strategy is, however, slowly but surely disintegrating with every step of its attempted implementation. In April and May, junta forces invaded Morazan to 'flush out' the FMLN. But it was the junta's army which suffered humiliating defeat. During the campaign it was sustaining 15-20 casualties a day, groups of soldiers refused to fire on civilians or fight FMLN forces and a squad of Morazan's notorious Treasury Police did the coward's dance and fled to Honduras. The army left the province disguising its defeat by declaring a 'tactical retreat'. In Chalatenango province the junta is now using the newly formed Aclajatl Brigade which has been organised and trained by US Green Berets. With the roads blocked either by revolutionary sabotage or the rains they will have difficulty moving let alone crushing the FMLN. Already a junta garrison in Arcatao has been overrun by the guerrillas who captured the helicopter and the supplies brought to defend it

and the Province's capital has been cut off from the rest of the country. Meanwhile in San Vicente, a fierce junta assault on a volcano sheltering FMLN soldiers has been repulsed and in San Salvador there has been heavy fighting with regular guerilla attacks on army and police patrols and convoys.



Commenting on the latest battles, the junta Defence Minister Jose Guillermo was compelled to admit that:

'The communists' organisation is admirable and their hospitals better than ours.'

With every military setback suffered by imperialism, the US State Department and its lackeys in El Salvador regurgitate and embellish discredited stories about 'outside' aid. After allegations that Cuba, Nicaragua and the USSR were secretly supplying the FMLN, comes US State Department 'news' that Oxfam money is going to the guerrilla's for arms purchases. These absurdities received their answer in a statement made by Victor Guerrero, a spokesman for the FMLN General Command:

'They are making the mistake of thinking that a war is defined only technically, that it is won only because one has more weapons, more artillery, more helicopters... But they forget the human aspect—that which makes the guns work and the technique efficient. The human aspect works in our favour, because we have the entire people on our side and a regular army in development, whose high morale and determination to win, the junta's army does not and cannot have.'

PALESTINE

Israel and its fascist allies in Lebanon are waging war on the camps of Palestinian refugees. Israel is threatening a major war if anti-aircraft missiles are not removed from the area. In this conflict British communists stand full square with the Fedayin, the revolutionary soldiers of the Palestinian people.

Since 1917 the Palestinian people have suffered a racist, imperialist occupation, first by British forces and since 1945 by the Israelis. 300,000 Palestinians live within the 1948 borders of Israel, another 640,000 in territories occupied in 1967 and 1,000,000 are exiled refugees. The life in the refugee camps is one of unmitigated poverty with the constant threat of attack by Israeli or Phalangist forces. Life for the Palestinians in Israel and its 'occupied' territories (Israel is itself an 'occupied' territory) is no better. Israel is a state whose racism rivals that of its chief ally South Africa, and like South Africa, Israel is a creation of British imperialism.

Jewish immigrants to Israel are guaranteed citizenship. A Palestinian born in Israel will be considered for citizenship only if fluent in Hebrew, possessing documentary proof of birth and residence in Israel and if given political approval by the Israeli Secret Service. Marriages between Jew and non-Jew are not recognised in Israel. In the occupied territories Palestinians may live only in the area to which they are allocated by the Military Governor. The Arabic press is heavily censored and Palestinian activists are subject to harassment, imprisonment and assassination. In 1970 out of the 1,000,000 Palestinians in Zionist controlled territory only 700 were in higher education. Social Security is tied to service in the Israeli army, so excluding the Palestinians. Israel actually denies the existence of the Palestinians—the Zionists claim that they, 'a people without land', came to a 'land without people'.

In fact Palestine was stolen from its people by the British and Israeli armies. The land around Deir Yassin was obtained in 1948 by the murder of 250 men, women and children by Menachim Begin's Irgun murder gang. 15,000 Palestinians fled the area after the massacre and their land was also seized. Once land is acquired by the Israeli state it is illegal for it to be let or sold to a non-Jew.

Denied their land, their rights and their nationality the Palestinians are recognised by Israel only as units of labour. Palestinian wages are less than half those paid to Israelis. The occupied territories have become vast pools of cheap labour for Israel. In the Gaza strip Palestinians from 11 years of age queue from 3am awaiting hire by Israeli farmers and businessmen. The workers of Palestine are exploited by Israel on behalf of imperialism, including of course British imperialism. The Israeli Motor

Corporation is 30% owned by British Leyland. The Israeli Financial Trust is owned by British Triumph Investment.

It was British occupation of Palestine in 1917 that began the imperialist oppression of the Palestinian people. The infamous Balfour Declaration of 1917 announced Britain's support for a 'national home for the Jewish race' and was followed by the most intensive Zionist immigration into and colonisation of Palestine. Zionist armed squads systematically began expelling Palestinians from the land upon which they had worked and lived for decades and centuries. Resistance was met with murder and more land robbery. Palestinian uprisings, culminating in the 1936-1939 uprising, were crushed by British forces, who in the 3 year war not only used Zionist militia to suppress the Palestinian revolt, but also established the Jewish Settlement Police comprising 5% of the Jewish population of Palestine. British imperialism was thus instrumental not only in suppressing the Palestinian people, but also in building up the military forces which went on to become the Zionist state.

As ever the British Labour Party displayed its racist enthusiasm for imperial expansion. In 1944, Laski, then Chairman of the Labour Party urged that 'Arabs be encouraged to move out as Jews move in'. Following World War 2, Britain under pressure from the USA granted independence to Israel in 1948. What was once Palestine became a Zionist racist state—a state which became and remains a servant of imperialism in the Middle East. When, in 1956, Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal, Britain and France using Israel as a staging post launched a predatory war against Egypt. Aneurin Bevan, 'left' Labour racist, compared the nationalisation of the Suez Canal to Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves. Following the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, imperialism rewarded the Zionists for occupying the West Bank and other Arab territory with the biggest ever influx of imperialist economic and military aid to the Zionist state. Ever since Zionist forces have been engaged in systematic war against the Palestinian people whose resistance threatens to destroy imperialism in the region.

Since 1965 the freedom fighters of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation have fought to replace the racist imperialist state of Israel with a secular democratic state in all of Palestine. This struggle, in which the Fedayin face 400 British Centurion tanks, is but one more battle in the war being fought in Belfast, Brixton and Johannesburg—the war to destroy racism and imperialism, the war for freedom and socialism.

**Victory to the Fedayin, Vanguard of the Palestinian People!
Down with Zionism, Racism and Imperialism!**

Mick Daley

GUATEMALA

The El Salvador revolution does not stand alone in Central America. In bordering Guatemala, the equally downtrodden masses are intensifying their war against the US backed military dictatorship of General Lucas Garcia.

The revolutionary organisations—the Guerilla Army of the Poor, Rebel Armed Forces, Revolutionary Organisation of the People in Arms and the Guatemalan Labour Party—fighting for a revolutionary people's government are steadily consolidating their position amongst the mass of peasants and workers. Support is growing rapidly, particularly from the Indian masses who form 60% of Guatemala's 7.2m population. They provide the mass of poverty stricken slave labour for the vast US multinational fruit companies and the country's growing oil industry. Indian peasants and workers are joining the guerrillas at a faster rate than they can be organised and armed.

This organisation and resistance of the oppressed against imperialist capital and profit has brought forth repression as savage as in El Salvador. In the past 18 months 8000 people have been murdered—by the army and its

fascist death squads—most of them Indians. The repression extends to all revolutionary and democratic sections of the population. In the same period 100 trade union leaders, 67 lawyers, 136 university teachers and 70 elementary school teachers have been gunned down by the regime. A particular target for the assassination squads are teachers working amongst the Indian population. Like the apartheid regime's attitude to blacks in South Africa, the Garcia regime opposes education for the Indians lest it encourages them to rebel against their condition as cheap slave labour for imperialist capital.

Imperialist savagery has however bred a resistance more fierce and determined. So successful are the guerrillas that the Garcia regime is begging the US to provide it with additional military support to what it already receives from Zionist Israel and fascist Argentina. This sup-

port will be forthcoming and more determined now that new oil supplies have been discovered in Northern Peten. Guatemalan subsidiaries of Texaco and Amoco sold \$24m of oil in 1980. The figure for 1981 is likely to be \$100m. With revolutionary upheavals in the Middle-East, US imperialism will do its utmost to defend these new supplies of oil. It will do its utmost to bolster up a tottering reactionary dictatorship to guarantee its flow of oil and profits. The guerrillas understand this well and have carried out their third successful military operation against the Rubelsanto oil installation. For the second time in a month they dynamited the pipeline from Rubelsanto to the Atlantic Coast despite the specially provided detachments supposedly defending it.

No doubt as the revolution gains in success US imperialism will howl and rage about 'outsiders', Russians, Cubans, Nicaraguans and communists being the cause of all their misfortunes. But the Guatemalan masses, like the masses of El Salvador, will continue to fight for the destruction of imperialism and the liberation of their class and will annihilate such nonsense and its makers with bullets and bombs.

FIGHT RACISM

RACIST MURDER IN PECKHAM

Fenton Ogbogbo, a 25 year old Nigerian, was viciously stabbed to death by racists in the Old Kent Road, South London, on Saturday night of 21 June. Incredibly, the detective leading the 'hunt' for Fenton's murderers has made the most obscene statement in the press that Fenton had actually tried to commit suicide that day! Is he suggesting that he should be grateful to his murderers? These disgusting racist lies have been reported without comment in the gutter press.

The Thursday before Fenton was murdered, Jerome Davis, a 33 year old black, was also the victim of a racist attack in nearby Peckham. He is still in hospital recovering from his stab wounds. The Saturday night of Fenton's murder hundreds of black youth, joined by some white youth, had fought for 2 hours with the police in Peckham Rye. 'It looked like they were seeking confrontation with us,' said Supt Staplin in charge of the police on the scene. He couldn't have been more right. Wooden staves were torn up from fences and used as spears to throw at the police, police vehicles were attacked, and such money grabbers as Currys, Boots and British Home Stores were broken into. The BP petrol station narrowly escaped

destruction. The press and police have tried to portray this event as a looting exercise by black youth. They have done all they can to hide the fact that the object of the youth's anger is the racist police force in South London.

A few miles from Peckham in Lewisham shopping centre, in just 2 forays by the police, 20 black youths were picked up on 4 and 5 June. These youths, the youngest of which was 13, were held for hours in Ladywell police station. A pregnant teenager among them was attacked and given a black eye. All were subjected to a constant barrage of racist abuse. When one young girl asked how she was supposed to get home when she was released late at night with no money, she was told 'You can swing on trees.' She was left as an easy target for the kind of racists who killed Fenton Ogbogbo, that the police allow to roam the streets.

The fact is that in South London the black youth are coming under increasing attack from racists in and out of uniform. No one round here will forget that the racists who murdered 13 black youth in New Cross are still at large and that no real attempt has been made to find them by the police who have always refused to admit that the New Cross fire was a racist massacre.

Carol Owen



MANCHESTER

The uprisings of black and white youth sweeping through the country reached Moss Side Manchester on Tuesday 7 July. The youths' target was the hated notorious Moss Side police. Following street fighting on Tuesday night black and white youth responded to dawn house to house raids and arrests. Throughout Wednesday they slowly gathered on the corner of Princess Road and Moss Lane - waiting and watching. By 9 o'clock over 400 youth started moving towards Rusholme. They evaded police vans frantically trying to stop them and by 10.15 they had laid siege to Moss Side police station - the institution from which the racist and repressive defenders of privilege and corruption organise their brutality.

The rightful anger and hatred of the youth expressed itself in bricks and petrol bombs. In the ensuing battle the police station was severely damaged and 9 police vehicles destroyed. The cheering youth, by then 1,000 strong made their way down Princess Road. The police were powerless and the people who have nothing ruled the streets.

On Clairmont Road a bus was stoned. Immediately the cry went up 'Not the buses! Not the people! We want the bastards, the police!' As the youth moved they set cars alight to prevent the police following them. And as police vans sped round them they were stoned to the cry of 'Stand and fight'. Throughout the night fierce fighting continued against the hated police. By early Thursday morning 46 black and white youth had been arrested. But the youth were undaunted.

On Thursday Chief of Manchester police gave a press conference where he announced that outside forces must have been responsible for the uprising as 'the people of that area did not have the intelligence' to fight as effectively as they did. The youths' response was to once

again on Thursday night lay siege to Moss Side police station and again throughout the night fought the police with bricks, stones and petrol bombs. By the end of the fighting over 200 youths had been arrested. Anderton called the uprising guerilla warfare. War it is. Black and white youth, who under this system have nothing but unemployment, poverty and racist harassment have declared war on the system that oppresses them and the police who defend that system.

Communists stand uncompromisingly with the youth who will now have to conduct a battle to defend themselves and their community against house to house raids, arrests and frame-ups. But middle class socialists have already expressed their opposition to the youth and to revolution. The SWP in words declared support for the youth, but then wrote that revolutionary uprisings 'only bring more racism and more police harassment', that is they attacked the youth. As one black youth declared 'We are fighting for our freedom'. And the reality is that freedom can be obtained only by revolutionary uprising.

SCARMAN INQUIRY

Lord Scarman, imperialism's Mr Fixit, has started his inquiry into the Brixton uprising. As always, it was not until the oppressed defeated the forces of oppression that the oppressors decided that an inquiry was needed. Everyone knows that on 10-13 April the black youth of Brixton, joined by white working class youth, rose up against oppression, discrimination, poverty and unemployment. Scarman's job is to obscure this truth in a flood of phrases about 'misunderstanding' and 'over-reaction'. He will try to turn away the just anger and hatred of the youth. This has always been his job as shown by his role in Ireland in 1969.

In the imperialist-occupied Six Counties of Ireland in August 1969 the nationalist workers rose up. They had suffered decades of oppression and misery at the hands of the British-backed Stormont police state. The RUC and B Specials, following the same principles as their racist cousins in Britain, had handed out systematic terror and repression. In August 1969 the nationalist workers began a fightback which continues today in the revolutionary war of the Irish people against British imperialism.

In Derry city in the Battle of the Bogside, the revolutionary forces of the nationalist workers defeated the RUC and B Specials, drove them out of the nationalist areas, and kept them out. British imperialism sent in its army to do the job the police could no longer do: beat down the oppressed. The Battle of the Bogside followed from a series of particularly murderous and vicious invasions of nationalist areas by mobs of RUC, B Specials and 'unofficial' Loyalist thugs. One of these attacks led to the murder of nine-year old Patrick Rooney, shot dead in his bed. It was time for an inquiry. Scarman was sent in. As in Brixton the truth was all too clear and the oppressed refused to be fooled by the smiling phrases of Scarman. They boycotted the good Lord's inquiry.

However, as in Brixton, the police murderers, knowing they were in safe hands, were happy to testify. There was no shortage of the Irish equivalent of the middle class state-funded traitors who have crept into Scarman's present inquiry. Scarman took the evidence. Nearly three years later, in April 1971, after Bloody Sunday, he revealed his conclusions.

Even faithful servants of imperialism such as *The Times* were surprised at the extent to which Scarman covered up for the murderous thugs of the RUC and B Specials.

The murder of Patrick Rooney, he said, was simply 'unjustified'.

The RUC and B Specials throwing petrol bombs

and bricks in Derry was, he said, 'misbehaviour'.

The murder of John Gallagher in Armagh he belittled as 'grave misconduct'.

In the case of Michael Lynch, murdered in Ardoyne, he said 'We find as a fact that Michael Lynch was killed by police fire. All else is unclear.'!

The murder of Hugh McCabe in Divis Street was, he said, 'legitimate'!

In Ardoyne ten people suffered bullet wounds. All ten were Catholics. Scarman found that these ten had been shot by police. In all ten Catholics were killed on 14/15 August 1969 - every one of them shot by police. Scores were wounded and maimed. Hundreds of families were burned out of their homes. All this resulted from massed attacks by RUC/B Special/'unofficial' Loyalist mobs. Scarman decided that 'the general case of a partisan force cooperating with Protestant mobs to attack Catholic people is devoid of substance'. He explained that the 'difficulties' of the RUC 'naturally led them... to have recourse to methods such as baton-charges, CS gas and gunfire...'. Naturally!

In the Brixton inquiry the police terror rampage is clear to all. Doubtless Scarman will find that the 'difficulties' (young and inexperienced police, lack of training, strain, blah, blah) *naturally* led them to the methods of beatings, harassment, illegal detentions, dawn raids and forced confessions! As for the iron-bar wielding plain clothes police, Scarman will doubtless suggest that the iron bars are left at home in future or, at least, not used in front of cameramen or, at least, not used on cameramen!

Anyone who expects justice from Scarman expects it in vain. As Scarman continues his 'inquiry' the police, using evidence 'leaked' from it and press photographs, continue to arrest and convict black revolutionary youth and their allies. Such is imperialist justice.

RACIST SHERIFF

Over 8,000 people in Glasgow have signed a petition calling for the sacking of Sheriff Middleton after his racist insults in a recent sex case. Sheriff Middleton was presiding in a case where a 27 year old white male was charged with having unlawful sex with a Vietnamese girl aged 13. Middleton described this as merely an:

'indiscretion' because 'girls mature much earlier in the East' where 'in the form of marriage that takes place there, intercourse occurs before the marriage'.

Sheriff Middleton admitted that under normal circumstances (if the girl had been white) he would have sent the man to jail but in this case he imposed a fine instead.

This blatant racist judgment, which has left all black and Asian women open to sexual attack, has exposed the whole racist legal system.

The police, after charging the man involved, then went on to hold the 13 year old girl in custody. They insisted that she be taken into care. When the Social Work Department refused on the grounds that she should remain in the family home where she could have the

support of people she knew, the police threatened to keep her in a police cell. In the end she was held for 6 days until a Children's Hearing issued an order for her release. The child then had her passport withdrawn as a further act of racist harassment.

The Scottish Asian Action Committee was set up to fight on this case and organised a petition, public meeting and a picket of the Secretary of State in Edinburgh around the slogans: *Protect honour of Asian women - sack Sheriff Middleton*. This public campaign was highly successful and forced the Secretary of State to make a statement in Parliament. Naturally this imperialist defended Sheriff Middleton, declaring that Middleton meant no racist intent with his comments.

The Scottish Asian Action Committee, recognising that this case is only the tip of the iceberg, are continuing to campaign for the sacking of Middleton and are calling for a full public enquiry into the racist police and courts in Scotland.

Messages of support and donations can be sent to:

Scottish Asian Action Committee,
Trade Union Centre,
81 Carlton Place,
Glasgow G5.

Mike Gibbs

What we say

The British ruling class has responded to the uprisings in Southall, Liverpool and Manchester (and those that are daily occurring on a smaller scale in other cities) with plans for greater repression.

CS gas has now been used. Special 'riot' equipment has been given to the police. The government has talked of using troops as a 'last resort'. The parents of young people involved are to be made to pay heavy fines. A new Riot Act is being contemplated.

The British ruling class is well-practised in the art of repression. Today it uses outright terror against the Irish people. And it is now using that experience to try and stamp out the early stirrings of a revolutionary movement in Britain. It must not be allowed to succeed.

In the face of this the people must prepare and must keep in their own hands the organisation of their area and the defence of those arrested.

All too often, as after the Brixton Uprising, the people's struggle is undermined by middle class and collaborationist elements who falsely claim to speak for them. There is no organisation of the defence of Brixton in which the youth of Brixton are involved.

The experience of the uprisings in St Pauls and Brixton and their aftermath is there to be drawn on. In Brixton, raids, police thuggery and the courts have been used to try to punish and demoralise the people. To prevent this happening elsewhere there must be a massive militant and effective campaign to defend all those who have been arrested.

Communists fully support the stand taken by the people of Southall, Liverpool and Manchester. Communists will fight side by side with the people to defend their rights. In these early stirrings of revolution we see the future. A future in which the police and the capitalist system they defend will be swept aside and the rule of the workers established.



PRESS ASSOCIATION

SOUTHALL

On Friday 3 July the black people of Southall gave a resounding answer to the fascists. Following in the revolutionary footsteps of St Paul's and Brixton they used the barricade, the brick and the petrol bomb to defeat the fascists and the police.

Fascist outrages are taking place on a horrific scale in London. The normal cowardly method used by these thugs is arson attacks against sleeping families, or attacks on lone black people in the streets. Only the night before the Southall events, a Pakistani woman and her three children were burned to death in an arson attack in the East End. Police complicity with these attacks has caused the confidence of fascists to grow enormously.

Hence on 3 July, four coachloads of skinheads entered Southall. They attacked and abused Asian women and vandalised Asian's shops. Then they got their come-uppance.

The black community in Southall is organised to defend itself and knows exactly how to do so. Within a short time, hundreds of black youth were on the streets, barricades set up and a counter-attack launched.

As is normal, the police tried to protect the fascists from the people's anger. In every instance where racist attacks take place, the police cover-up for the culprits. In Southall, the people well remember how, on 3 April 1979, the police, defending an NF meeting, violently attacked black protesters, killing Blair Peach, injuring 1,000 people and arresting 342 more.

On 3 July the police too were seen for the

racists they are and were attacked as they tried to protect the fascists. The skinheads had taken refuge in the Hamborough Tavern and the police had cordoned it off to allow the rats to slink away. Black people fought fiercely and the police were beaten back and finally forced to retreat in disarray. Petrol bombs rained down. A coach was set ablaze and pushed into the Tavern which itself then went up in flames. Police vans were overturned and burnt out. Fighting raged for several hours over a wide area. A tyre depot and petrol station were set on fire. Barricades made of cars were thrown up.

Virtually every week a new chapter in the fightback of black people is written. Southall, St Paul's, Brixton, Coventry, and now Southall again. At each stage the fight becomes more organised. At each stage the techniques of street battles are perfected. On the very same night as Southall fought back, black youths in Liverpool engaged in a pitched battle with the police lasting two hours. This followed a police attempt to arrest a youth who had suffered a motor-bike accident.

In contrast to the Labour Party and its middle class allies, black people are the forces of the future and demonstrate ever more clearly, the revolutionary road.



PRESS ASSOCIATION

LIVERPOOL 8 ERUPTS

On the weekend 3-6 July the police reaped the harvest of constant harassment of black youth in Liverpool 8, just as they had in Bristol and Brixton. On the same night as the uprising in Southall the rising tide of the oppressed reached Liverpool. By Sunday morning black and white youth were using the barricades and the petrol bomb against a notorious Merseyside police force.

Sunday night of 5 July saw over a thousand youth, black and white, drive the police out of the centre of Liverpool 8, and for a period of time establish a no-go area. It was a revolt of people who have nothing to lose, no jobs, no privileges, nothing. They attacked the police, who through their constant harassment, and brutality have made their lives desolate. In so doing, they showed all the inventive improvisation, of working class insurrections. The involvement of so many hundreds of white youth alongside the black youth of Liverpool 8 was a gratifying sight.

These events were an absolutely decisive confirmation of the leadership role that the black working class has. The black youth by fighting against their own oppression, had lit a beacon to which all working class youth were attracted - working class youth whose own lives have been ruined by redundancies and unemployment. This was their answer to the opportunist leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions who have refused to fight unemployment and poverty.

There were three clear stages in the uprising.

Stage One: Friday night a police task force invades Granby to arrest a black youth on a motor cycle. In one sense a normal event in the endless cycle of racist police harassment. But this time a crowd gathers. The motor cyclist is

liberated and they stone the police. In revenge the Police arrest Leroy Cooper. Leroy Cooper comes from a family plagued by police harassment, as detailed in FRFI 5. He is charged with assault and grievous bodily harm, and locked away in Risley Remand Centre. The policemen and panda cars which appear in the area are stoned regularly.

Stage Two. Saturday: the area is saturated with police throughout the day. In the evening a patrol of four is set upon and scattered. The police withdraw. The youth are not satisfied. They want the police to come in force so they can inflict a decisive defeat on the oppressors. The crowd gathers at the junction of Marlborough Street and Upper Parliament Street. A mobile hut at a roadwork site there is set alight. After 30 minutes the fire engine arrives. The fire is put out. But then the barricades are built. Planks, barrels, traffic signs are thrown together at the junction. Street lights are destroyed and stones gathered. The police cannot take this. Within 20 minutes they appear at the eastern end of Upper Parliament street but turn round as they see the youth charge. The police reappear at the west end and advance. A hail of missiles. They charge. The youth fall back to regroup and then with a barrage of missiles and petrol bombs slowly drive the

police back. Cars are driven at the police. They fall back further. Elation - a victory. Defences are consolidated as cars are moved up, turned over and set on fire. More petrol is obtained. Regular stoning of the police continues. Their visors and shields seized and used. It is clear that the police are so weak that they can do nothing until reinforcements arrive from Manchester at 7 o'clock. Then the pitched battle starts anew as they try to drive away the black youth, who are supported by some white youth. 70 police are injured out of 200 by the time it is over. They take their revenge on their few captives, four in all who are viciously beaten.

Stage Three Sunday: Mobilisation. On the barricades there had been frustration the previous day. Enough people to make the police stand off but not enough to drive them away. Youths from all over Liverpool, Lodge Lane, Edgehill, Everton, are promised. At 9 o'clock they start to gather. Buildings are fired in Upper Parliament Street. The police are able to contain it but more youth gather. The main confrontation is in Kingsley Road at its junction with Upper Parliament Street. From 10.15 to 11 o'clock an intense battle rages as more and more youth arrive with balaclavas and crash helmets. The pressure grows. Cement mixers and a vintage fire engine are pushed into the police lines. Suddenly the police lines break and split into two in Upper Parliament Street. They are driven back under a constant barrage. More cars are driven at the police. Then a JCV dumper is used. Its shovels swinging an arc at the police lines. Riots shields, earlier a prize trophy, litter the road. Helmets replace them as a symbol of victory.

The Racquets Club, symbol of privilege and wealth, in the midst of poverty, is set afire. Then the National Westminster Bank. This one the

only drive-in bank in the whole of England, situated almost as a deliberate insult in the poor working class area. Expropriation is widespread. People who have not been able to afford more than the dullest essentials regale in the possibility of acquiring luxuries, electrical goods and more meat than they could dream about. It has become a festival of the oppressed. From all over Liverpool the youth have come.

The promises of the Labour Party and trades unions, promises which have been cynically empty, fiascos like the Peoples March to Nowhere have been made a nonsense of by the direct action of the youth. LPYS opportunists who try to leaflet the revolutionary fighters, have their leaflets torn away from them by black youth. They are asked do they support the action. They cannot say. They are told to leave or face the wrath of the youth. They disappear.

The police and the state they represent have been defeated. Symbols of wealth and privilege like the Racquets Club, the Fiat Garage, the National Westminster Bank, have been destroyed. The police can only recover by drawing reinforcements from all over the North West and using CS gas for the first time in England. Police had plastic bullets at hand and were ready to consult the RUC for advice.

The events are a microcosm of the English revolution. It is started by black youth fighting an incident of racist harassment. They developed it into a confrontation with their oppressors. This example attracts hundreds of white youth who follow their lead. The result unity in struggle and a defeat for the racist state. The massive involvement of white youth on Sunday at least equal in numbers to black youth shows how white youth are now willing to take up revolutionary action side by side with black youth. The opportunists have been swept aside and the oppressed have a festival.

THE COMMUNIST TRADITION ON IRELAND PART FIVE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM IN RETREAT

After the signing of the Treaty in December 1921 the small British Communist Party made it clear that, as far as it was concerned, 'there is no Irish settlement'. In an article 'A Fresh War in Ireland Soon', *The Communist* argued:

'The war on the British Empire is not over. It may be forced to assume other methods and disguises, but it will go on. Not till every trace of the British connection is wiped out will the Irish war of independence cease'. (14 January 1922)

British communists then understood that the Republican struggle was not at an end. They fully supported the anti-Treaty forces. They urged Irish workers to continue the war against British imperialism. And they were critical of the Irish Labour Party's and Transport Union's neutrality in the face of the national struggle, arguing that they were seriously undermining the working-class cause.

Communists recognised that British imperialism had gained a considerable victory by splitting the Irish national movement from top to bottom. Not only had the 'Orange garrison' been supplemented by the 'Griffith garrison' but a 'deep weakness of the Imperialist structure' had 'been repaired just when the revolt of subject nations in India, Egypt and Ireland was seriously threatening it'. In the Dail debate on the Treaty the Irish revolutionary Liam Mellows referred to this same point. The acceptance of the Treaty would mean that 'we are going into the British Empire now to participate in the Empire's shame, and the crucifixion of India and the degradation of Egypt: Is that what the Irish people fought for freedom for?' As a result, British workers and oppressed peoples now faced in British imperialism 'a strengthened and stabilised foe'.

The Communist emphatically rejected the simplistic view held by some 'socialists' that the normal course of economic development in Ireland, by intensifying the class struggle 'North' and 'South' of the border, would reunite the Irish working class and lead to a united struggle against the Irish bourgeoisie. This was based on the false assumption that the signing of the Treaty had disposed of the national issue. The unity of the Irish working class would not be possible until British imperialism was driven out of Ireland. For this reason communists were on the side of those 'who carry on the tradition of 1916'. British and Irish workers had a common interest in the victory of the anti-Treaty forces and in the defeat of British imperialism in Ireland. *The Communist*, in July 1922, called upon British workers, not to make or send munitions to Ireland, to demand the withdrawal of British troops, and to 'do for the Irish what you did for the Russians'.

The partition of Ireland had divided the Irish working class. The artificial statelet created by the British in the Six Counties was designed to maintain loyalist dominance in that part of Ireland. The loyalist (Protestant) workers in the Six counties were a privileged section of the working class and the maintenance of their privileges (higher wages, jobs, housing etc) depended on the union with Britain. They were the most implacable enemies of a united independent Irish Republic for this reason. Any im-

provement in the conditions of the nationalist (Catholic) working class in the Six Counties they regarded as a direct threat to their own interests. It was clear that as long as British imperialism remained in Ireland there could be no unity of the Irish working class.

The capitalists north and south of the border had no interests in seeing a united Ireland. The partition of Ireland had, after all, divided the Irish working class and severely weakened the opposition to capitalist rule in the whole of Ireland. Once the opposition to Partition had been put down this arrangement would suit the Irish capitalists in the North and South very well.

Imperialism will never voluntarily relinquish political control over an oppressed nation because such control enormously strengthens its ability to economically exploit an oppressed nation. British imperialism, faced with a revolutionary war against its rule in Ireland, had partitioned Ireland and conceded a degree of independence to the Irish bourgeoisie in the South with the creation of the neo-colonial 26 counties 'Free State'. It would however maintain its dominance and control over the whole of Ireland through its political, economic and military presence in the northern Six Counties. *Partition of Ireland is the mechanism by which imperialist exploitation over the whole of Ireland is maintained.* And the key to the continuation of partition is the support of the loyalist working class. It would obviously have the support of the northern capitalists who would lose their main markets if left outside the British Empire. British imperialism therefore has a direct interest in maintaining the privileged condition of the loyalist working class. For these privileges are the basis of loyalty to the union with Britain and the key to imperialist control over the whole of Ireland. So both British imperialism and the Irish capitalists North and South had a direct interest in a divided Ireland and a divided working class.

It follows that a united Ireland can only be achieved by revolutionary means. The partition of Ireland can only be ended by revolutionary forces which defeat both British imperialism and the Irish ruling class. Such a struggle is a revolutionary challenge not only to British imperialism but also to its agents in the British working class.

The British Labour Party gives organised political expression to a privileged layer of the British working class. This privileged layer, as we have argued (see FRFI 8), has a material interest in the continuation of imperialism because it is the source of its economic and political privileges. This is why the British Labour Party has never supported the revolutionary democratic struggle of the Irish people for self-determination. For the defeat of British imperialism in Ireland would seriously undermine those economic and social conditions which give rise to the continued domination of the British Labour Party over the British working class. It would give tremendous strength and impetus to any emerging revolutionary forces in the British working class. That is why those organisations in Britain supporting the revolutionary struggle for a united Irish Republic have always been forced to confront those reactionary sections of the British Labour and Trade Union movement which form the British Labour Party. The Communists in 1921 were no exception to this rule. William Paul explains:

'The Communist Party of Great Britain hails the fight of the Irish Republicans in their struggle against the British Government. Unlike the Labour Party, which does not desire to harass the Government during the present negotiations, we defiantly declare that it is our intention to so challenge the Government, that it will gladly yield all the demands made by the Irish Republicans. In lending every assistance to Ireland, it is not only necessary for us to attack the Government, but also to warn our Irish friends that the political and trade union leaders of the British Labour movement are as dangerous to them as even a Lloyd George or a Hamar Greenwood. The cowardly ineptitude of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, so far as Ireland is concerned, is at once humiliating and treacherous. The barefaced betrayals of Ireland and her workers by the British trade-union leaders is on a level par with that of the Labour Party. We assure our Irish friends that these elements are being exposed by the Communists.' (*The Irish Crisis* 1921)

The small Communist Party did not succeed. The barefaced betrayals of the British Labour and Trade Union movement allowed British imperialism to impose Partition on the Irish people.

It is important to understand what this meant. Imperialism was able to impose the 'carnival of reaction' that Connolly predicted would follow Partition: the creation of a police state in the Six Counties and the bloody and barbaric repression of the anti-Treaty forces in the 26 Counties. By the end of the civil war the Republican movement was deeply divided and many of its best leaders had been executed by the 'Free State' forces. The Irish masses, who formed the backbone of the independence struggle, had been exhausted and demoralised by two wars—one against the British and the other against the Treatyites. These were the conditions in which the sectarian Six Counties statelet was erected and in which the revolutionary nationalists struggled to rebuild a movement.

A carnival of reaction – the loyalist state

Repression and discrimination have been a per-

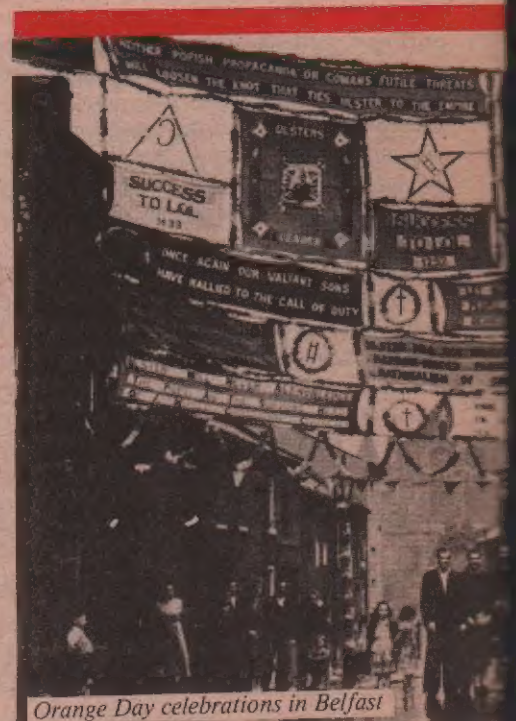


Anti-Treaty IRA troops in Dublin, June 1922

manent feature of the northern statelet from its foundation until today. These features are built into the system and are essential to maintain the loyalty of Protestant workers to British rule.

The northern statelet was formed from six of the nine counties of Ulster, carefully chosen so that the Unionists would have a large majority. This meant the large Catholic minority, who would never be reconciled to a loyalist state, had to have it forced on them. And forced on them it certainly was. In a period of Unionist orchestrated terror between July 1920 and July 1922, 453 people were killed in Belfast: 37 members of the Crown Forces and 416 civilians including 257 Catholics and 157 Protestants. Outside Belfast more than 100 died, 45 Crown Force and 61 civilians, including 46 Catholics and 15 Protestants. Of the 93,000 Catholics in Belfast almost 11,000 were driven from their jobs and 23,000 rendered homeless. Over 500 Catholic owned shops and businesses were burnt, looted and wrecked. The Catholics were being beaten into submission.

The state set up a whole machinery of repression. The Royal Ulster Constabulary was the loyalist state's armed paramilitary police force, mainly recruited from the Orange Order and the Special Constabulary, with access to rifles, sub-machine guns, and armoured cars. This force was supplemented by a Special Constabulary originally in three categories: A, B and C. However, it was the part-time B-Specials who were to be maintained in force until they were 'disbanded' in 1969. All were recruited from the Orange Order and formed a Protestant and loyalist militia. The average membership of the B-Specials was between 11,000 and 12,000. The Specials were a formidable force. They had regular drilling and weapon training. They were armed with rifles, revolvers, bayonets and later sub-machine guns which they kept in their homes. In the



Orange Day celebrations in Belfast



1950s and 1960s they had access to Bren-guns and Shortland armoured cars. The role of this force can be judged by the fact that the pogroms against the Catholics between 1920-1922 were conducted mainly by the Ulster B-Specials side by side with Orange mobs. When Sir Oswald Mosley, the leader of fascism in England, visited Belfast with the object of extending his organisation to the Six Counties, Lord Craigavon (Northern Ireland Prime Minister honoured yet again for his service to British imperialism) assured him that it was unnecessary. Northern Ireland had already, in its armed Special Constabulary, a fascist force in being.

Loyalist 'law and order' was further strengthened by an extraordinary piece of legislation—the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act (Northern Ireland) 1922. It had been pushed through the Northern parliament in April 1922 at the height of the Belfast pogroms as an emergency measure to last one year. However, it was annually renewed until 1928, then renewed for five years and finally in 1933 it was made permanent. The Act gave the civil authorities all the powers of a police state. The first section began:

'The Civil Authority (the Minister of Home Affairs) shall have power, in respect of persons, matters and things within the jurisdiction of the Government of Northern Ireland to take all such steps and issue all such orders as may be necessary for preserving peace and maintaining order'.

This measure introduced the death penalty for some firearms and explosives offences and flogging and imprisonment for others. It permitted indefinite internment without trial. It allowed the authorities to suspend at will any and all of the basic liberties, from habeas corpus to the freedom of the press. People could be arrested on suspicion, and people and buildings could be searched without warrant. The onus of proof could be reversed and the holding

of inquests dispensed with. It also gave the Minister power to make any further regulations, each with the force of a new law, and to delegate his powers to any policeman. And just in case anything had been overlooked in the regulations, even that was provided for when it stated:

'If any person does any act of such a nature to be calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of the peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations, he shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence against the regulations.'

The most effective power of the Act was internment enabling the government to jail indefinitely anyone it considered a political or military threat to it. It was used immediately until the end of 1924. It was re-introduced in 1938 and lasted until 1946. It was introduced again in December 1956 and lasted until 1961. And finally it was introduced on the largest scale ever in August 1971—being the measure which eventually brought down the government which had introduced it.

In April 1963, J Vorster, at that time Minister of Justice of the racist South African police state, whilst introducing a new Coercion Bill in the South African parliament, could say that 'he would be willing to exchange all the legislation of that sort for one clause of the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act'. An enquiry carried out by the (British) National Council of Civil Liberties in 1936 commented that the Unionists had created 'under the shadow of the British constitution a permanent machine of dictatorship'. Northern Ireland was compared with the fascist dictatorships then current in Europe.

Another instrument to maintain Unionist supremacy was that of gerrymandering. The technique is a very simple one. Constituency or ward boundaries are drawn in such a way as to spread Unionist (Protestant) votes over as many seats as possible, so as just to be sure of winning the seats. Whereas nationalist (Catholic) votes are crowded into as few seats as possible. This process was aided by the ending of proportional representation, and by the restricted franchise—limited to rate-payers and their spouses—which discriminated against the poorer Catholic population. The clearest example of gerrymandering was Derry City. In 1966, the adult population of Derry was 30,376—20,102 Catholics and 10,274 Protestants. Restricted franchise reduced the Catholic majority substantially; 14,429 Catholics to 8,781 Protestants. Finally, after numerous boundary revisions, the city was divided into three wards as follows:

	Nationalist Voters (Catholic)	Seats	Unionist Voters (Protestant)	Seats
South Ward	10,047	8	1,138	—
North Ward	2,530	—	3,946	8
Waterside Ward	1,852	—	3,697	4
	14,429	8	8,781	12

A large nationalist majority in this way was turned into its opposite—a Unionist majority. Yet another way had been found to secure the Unionist supremacy in the northern statelet.

The Unionist alliance depended on the support of the loyalist working class. The loyalist working class were a privileged section of the working class at the foundation of the state. This privileged status has been maintained by systematic discrimination against Catholics in the areas of wages, jobs and housing. Conditions in the North of Ireland are worse than in Britain but this only serves to emphasise the importance of any discrimination in favour of the loyalist working class.

Discrimination means that Catholic workers in the Six Counties tend to be unskilled manual workers while Protestants have by far the greatest share of the skilled jobs, and therefore the higher wages and privileges associated with such jobs. This was still the case in 1971. In 1977, the Fair Employment Agency published an analysis of the 1971 Census which showed that the loyalist labour aristocracy has been preserved until this day. It said:

'...it is clear that the Protestant is most likely to be a skilled manual worker while the

Roman Catholic will be an unskilled manual worker.'

A report of wage rates since 1914 in engineering, shipbuilding and construction, published in 1957, showed that for a large part of the period the rates of wages prevailing in the Six Counties for skilled workers were higher than the corresponding average in Britain as a whole. The wage rates for unskilled workers were lower than for Britain. This means that the differential in favour of skilled workers over unskilled workers was greater than the corresponding differential for Britain as a whole. Protestant privilege was no small thing. The 1971 census confirmed this trend of much higher wages for loyalist workers.

The differential in wages concerns those who are able to get a job. The attitude of Unionist politicians on the question of jobs leaves no doubt as to who will be most likely to be unemployed. In July 1933, Sir Basil Brooke (later, Lord Brookeborough, Prime Minister of the Six Counties) made a speech in which he said 'I have not a Roman Catholic about my place'. While J M Andrews, the Minister of Labour, (and Prime Minister before Brooke), responded indignantly to what he regarded as a smear:

'Another allegation made against the government, which is untrue, is that of 31 porters at Stormont 28 are Roman Catholic. I have investigated the matter and I have found that there are 30 Protestants and only one Roman Catholic, there only temporarily.'

When the Nationalists in the Stormont Parliament proposed a motion of censure on Sir Basil Brooke for his speeches, Lord Craigavon moved an amendment saying 'the employment of disloyalists (Catholics)...is prejudicial to the state and takes jobs away from Loyalists'. The Unionist state had a clear policy of discrimination in employment against Catholics. The results can be seen.

Catholics, while only one third of the population, provided 90,000 out of the 159,000 who emigrated looking for work between 1937 and 1961—that is nearly 57%. In July 1961 the average figure for unemployment in the Six Counties was 7%. The highest figures were in the predominantly Catholic areas of Newry 17.2%, Newcastle 16.4%, Strabane 14.4%, and Derry 13.8%. The lowest figures were Ballyclare 2.2%, Bangor 2.7%, Lisburn 3.3%—all solidly Protestant areas. And recent figures all show that nothing has changed. The influx of multinational companies' investment and British state aid into the Six Counties over the last twenty years has altered nothing at all. Most of the new investment was overwhelmingly located in loyalist areas.

Harland and Wolff, the biggest source of employment in Belfast, has been kept alive by massive British state subsidies over the last 20 years. On numerous occasions Catholics have been driven out of employment from the yards by Unionists. In 1970 among the 10,000 workers in Harland and Wolff, only 400 were Catholics. By 1975, as a result of intimidation and assassinations, the number had been reduced to 100. In the three largest firms in Belfast in the late 1960s the proportion of Catholics employed was 3%, 1.4% and 0% respectively.

The situation in housing and health reinforces the extent of Protestant privilege. Nationalist areas suffer most from unfit housing—40-45% in nationalist Fermanagh against only 10-20% in loyalist areas like Antrim, Lisburn and Down. In the mid-1970s a nationalist in the west of the sectarian statelet was at least twice as likely to be struck down with an infectious disease (tuberculosis, acute meningitis, scarlet fever etc) as a Protestant in the east. The infant mortality rate is again consistently higher for the nationalist areas than for loyalist areas. In the loyalist north and east of the Six Counties the figures are 18.1 and 19.7 per thousand respectively. In the nationalist west it is 24.8. This rises to 32.3 in Fermanagh.

The loyalist workers' ties to Britain and its ruling class, their refusal to unite with the Nationalists in the struggle for democracy and socialism is based on the real material privileges they receive. They do not defend the sectarian statelet out of some obsession with theology. Their reactionary Unionist politics grow out of their immediate social conditions. Compared to the conditions of exploitation of the mass of Catholics beneath them, the loyalists are a

labour aristocracy. Anything that threatens British imperialist rule in Ireland, threatens their privileges. That is why the loyalist worker is so opposed to the struggle of the Republican movement for a united Ireland.

This, then, is the Six Counties statelet, a police state based on terror, repression and sectarian discrimination. It was this which the British Labour government defended when, in May 1949, it enacted the new Government of Ireland Act. This Act said 'in no event will Northern Ireland or any part thereof cease to be part of the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland'. True to its history, the British Labour government—and this one was said to be progressive—legitimised the rule of a reactionary police state in order to defend British imperialism. British governments ever since, both Labour and Conservative, have upheld this standpoint. It has nothing to do with democracy. It has everything to do with maintaining British imperialism's rule over the northern statelet and through it the protection of British imperialism's fundamental interests in the whole of Ireland.

Republicanism under siege

The northern statelet is clearly unreformable. If the Irish working class is ever to be united, then Partition has to be destroyed and British imperialism driven out of Ireland. The revolutionary wing of the national movement has always made the unification of Ireland the major plank of its platform. This is the key to any social progress in the whole of Ireland. And it can only be achieved by revolutionary means. In the years following Partition, the revolutionary Republican forces, in the face of the most difficult conditions, strove to find the means to continue the struggle for a united Irish Republic.

On 24 May 1923, the civil war ended with the IRA order to dump arms. There was no surrender, simply a recognition of the present defeat and a decision to hold back the Republican forces until a new opportunity for a successful struggle occurred. W T Cosgrave, the leader of the pro-Treaty forces and the Cumann na nGaedheal Party had, with the aid of British imperialism, crushed the Republican forces in a vicious campaign of legalised terror. During the civil war, the pro-Treaty government had executed 77 Republicans including Liam Mellows, Rory O'Connor, Joseph McKelvey and Richard Barrett, who were taken out of Mountjoy prison and shot without trial. By July 1923, the Free State government held over 11,000 prisoners.

Even after the civil war the anti-Treaty forces still had considerable support. The Republicans, organised legally as Sinn Féin, contested the elections of August 1923 on an abstentionist platform. In spite of government harassment and disruption of meetings, campaign workers being attacked, and many candidates in prison or on the run, Sinn Féin won 44 seats to Cumann na nGaedheal's 63.

As a 'concession', the Treaty had included a clause providing for a Boundary Commission to revise the border 'in accordance with the wishes of the population'. The Northern Ireland government refused to appoint a representative to the Commission. The British government—a minority Labour government under Ramsey MacDonald—eventually appointed its own representative, an imperialist judge in the South African Supreme Court, and later nominated one for the Six Counties, an Orangeman and staunch Unionist. In 1925 the Commission met and, after a charade of investigation, decided by a majority to propose minor frontier changes which included the transfer of the richest land in nationalist Donegal to the Six Counties. The 'Free State' government panicked, which was no doubt the purpose of the whole exercise, and, in December 1925, agreed to recognise the existing boundary. The Partition of Ireland was now consummated. The nationalist minority in the Six Counties had been sold out by the Cosgrave government and left to face the terror of a loyalist police state.

The 'Free State' government was clearly hand-in-glove with British imperialism. The Dail had become the organ of British imperialist control. This was recognised in November 1925 at the General Army Convention, when the left-

continued overleaf



REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM IN RETREAT

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wing Republican Peadar O'Donnell proposed a motion which called on the army of the Republic

'to sever its connection with the Dail, and act under an independent Executive, such Executive be given the power to declare war when, in its opinion, a suitable opportunity arises to rid the Republic of its enemies and maintain it in accordance with the proclamation of 1916.'

The motion was carried. It had the effect of forcing out into the open those sections of the IRA/Sinn Fein talking about entering the Dail. Revolutionary Republicans knew that the 'Free State' was the creation of a British imposed coup and to enter its Dail would be a recognition of the Treaty and an acceptance of Partition. De Valera, on the other hand, arguing that the Republic could be achieved by constitutional means, wanted to enter the Dail. He was soon to raise the question of taking the oath of allegiance (to the King and Empire), which was part of the Treaty settlement, as the issue of principle in order to obscure the real issue — acceptance of the British-imposed Dail and Partition. He argued that Sinn Fein should enter the Dail once the oath was removed, with a programme to achieve a Republic as rapidly as possible by constitutional means. His position was put to the test at an extraordinary Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein in March 1926 and was defeated by 233 to 218 votes.

The most visible section of opposition to de Valera was Cumann na mBan, the Republican women's organisation, which had also voted overwhelmingly to reject the Treaty. On 11 March de Valera resigned as President, withdrew from Sinn Fein, and organised his followers into a new party, Fianna Fail. This party, he said, would enter the Dail only on the removal of the oath.

The assassination of Kevin O'Higgins, a Minister in the Cosgrave government, in July 1927, was used as a pretext by Cosgrave to introduce a Bill which said that every candidate for election to the Dail must on nomination swear to take the oath. On 12 August 1927 de Valera led Fianna Fail members into the Dail where they signed the book containing the text of the oath of loyalty to the British King. De Valera maintained this was accepting the oath 'as an empty formula'. Nevertheless he admitted that 'what we did was contrary to all our former actions and to everything we stood for'. In participating in the British-imposed Dail he had broken fundamentally and irrevocably with the revolutionary nationalist standpoint.

In the election of 1932, Fianna Fail obtained more seats than Cumann na nGaedheal and formed the government with Irish Labour Party support. De Valera informed the British government that he was abolishing the oath and withholding payments of land annuities due to the British government as a result of the earlier Land Acts (see FRFI 8). The British then imposed punitive tariffs on Irish imports, principally cattle, into Britain. The measure was announced by the Dominions Secretary to the National Government, the Labour traitor J H Thomas MP. The aim was to cripple the trade of the 'Free State' so it would be forced to surrender within six months. The British government hoped that the resulting hardships for the farming population would lead to the return to power of the Cosgrave party. The latter collaborated by organising itself on fascist lines and developing a campaign of violent obstruction against the new government with the object of winning small farmer support away from Fianna Fail. The Economic War with Britain, in fact, lasted six years.

Cumann na nGaedheal represented the pro-British cattle-ranching and trading interests. It was a party totally subservient to British imperialist interests. Fianna Fail, on the other hand, came to power as the champion of smaller capitalist interests and tillage farmers. Its mass support came mainly from farmers working small holdings and from rural and urban wage-earners — from the people who were the back-

bone of the independence movement. The acquiescence of the Irish Labour Party and ITUC in the destruction of the Republic in 1922 made it easy for Fianna Fail to gain and hold on to working class and small-farmer support. On coming to power, Fianna Fail appeared to be opposing British imperialism, and many accepted its Republicanism at face value. Fianna Fail seemed to many people to offer an alternative to war and hardship in the quest for an Irish Republic.

The bulk of Irish industry in the northern Six Counties had been lost with Partition. De Valera's economic policy was to begin to build up new industry in the 'Free State' behind high tariff walls. It had a limited amount of success. Industrial employment rose from 111,000 in 1931 to 154,000 in 1936 as a number of small industries were set up. But the attempt to build an independent capitalist Republic, doomed to failure in any case, could only be made by increasing the suffering of the working masses. The average income per head dropped from 61% of the British figure in 1931 to 49% in 1939. The new jobs created didn't cover the pool of unemployed. And the period of protection had a disastrous effect on trade — exports falling by 40%. Eventually the vulnerability of the Irish economy to the vastly more productive British monopoly capital, together with that of other imperialist interests would begin to tell. The policy later was to be drastically changed.

In December 1937 de Valera introduced a new Constitution for the South. It claimed the whole of Ireland — including the Six Counties — as the national territory, though specifically excluding the Six Counties from the jurisdiction of the Dublin government 'pending the reintegration of the national territory'. In 1938 the Economic War was brought to an end. The Irish 'Free State' (now Eire) paid £10 million to Britain in final settlement of all claims of a financial character. In return it received concessions including the handing back of ports and naval depots retained under British control as a result of the Treaty. But Partition remained. The history of the Fianna Fail party in this period proved that the attempt to pursue the struggle for a Republic by constitutional means, could only be based on the interests of Irish capitalists, who, sooner or later, were obliged to come to terms with British imperialism and accept Partition. Once again, the standpoint of revolutionary Republicanism had been proved correct. From de Valera in the 1920s and 1930s to the Official IRA in the 1970s, those who have rejected this standpoint have ended up supporting British imperialism.

Republicanism searches for a mass base

By the end of the 1920s, the IRA was in no position to accomplish its goal of a united Irish Republic by a military campaign having mass support. Given that Partition could only be ended by revolutionary means, the IRA, while maintaining its armed organisation intact, knew it had to find the means to win mass support for a renewed offensive against British imperialism and Partition. However, the masses, with the memory of the recent years of bloody and bitter fighting followed by the establishment of the reactionary Cosgrave government, were ready to believe Fianna Fail's empty promise of a united Irish Republic achieved by peaceful means. The problems which confronted the IRA in this period were to prove insurmountable.

The IRA involved itself in the social issues inevitably arising among the masses. Already in 1925, Peadar O'Donnell editor of the IRA weekly newspaper *An Phoblacht*, was using its columns to support the campaign in Donegal to withhold land annuities. An organisation initially called the Workers Defence Corps, later renamed the Irish Labour Defence League, was formed in 1929, and it included Trade Unionists and members of the IRA, including prominent ones on the left. On 13 March 1930, the Workers Revolutionary Party was organised as an avowedly communist group. Peadar O'Donnell and several other IRA men were deeply involved. On 15 February 1931, the General Army Convention committed itself to set up Saor Eire, an organisation of workers and working farmers committed to overthrow British imperialism and Irish capitalism. The

organisation was committed to agitation against landlordism and for state direction of essential industries, and state monopoly of banking, credit and export services. The Cosgrave government and the Catholic Church, once they realised the extent of these developments within the IRA, began a campaign against the 'Red Menace' and 'pagan communism'. New draconian 'public safety' legislation was introduced and very quickly twelve radical and revolutionary organisations including Saor Eire, the IRA and the Workers Revolutionary Party were banned. Raids and arrests took place everywhere. After the election of de Valera, Saor Eire quickly disappeared.

In 1932, the IRA became involved in the massive demonstrations and riots which took place in Belfast. Unemployment was reaching unprecedented levels, over 28%, and in the Belfast shipyards employment had fallen by over 80% in less than 2 years. The Protestant skilled workers were as hard hit as Catholic labourers. The Unionist politicians had treated with contempt a demand for improvement in starvation-level wages paid on relief schemes. Mass demonstrations of unemployed workers took place and were met by the police and military. Within a short time the streets in every working-class district in Belfast were barricaded against armoured cars, and in some areas IRA men and Ulster Protestant Association men were standing together in armed defence against the forces of the Crown. It was soon over. Faced with a serious threat to the loyalist alliance, the government acknowledged defeat, and offered more money for relief schemes and increased relief rates. The trade union leaders, terrified by the involvement of the IRA and left wing groups during the demonstrations and strikes, were very quick to make a deal. The Unionist ruling class did their best to blame the events on 'communist Sinn Fein' elements. They began to campaign on sectarian lines. By 1935, sectarian riots against Catholics were taking place in Belfast. The loyalist alliance might temporarily be disturbed over some single issue and under extreme economic conditions, but it can never be destroyed unless the prop of the Union with Britain is taken away.

It was during this period of deep economic depression and two years after the election of de Valera that the idea of a Republican Congress was formed. A section of the Army believed that, if the IRA was to find mass support for the anti-imperialist struggle to unite Ireland, it was necessary to win industrial workers and small farmers away from the leadership of Fianna Fail. This could only be done through a revolutionary party committed to building such an anti-imperialist movement. Many of the IRA who had supported Saor Eire were in favour of a Republican Congress, but the Executive and Army Council were less enthusiastic. At the next Army Convention, the proposal for a Republican Congress fell by one vote. Those in favour of the Congress then decided to go ahead. Gilmore and O'Donnell, in order to carry out the work, left the IRA.

A group of IRA officers and others prominent in Republican and Labour organisations met at Athlone in April 1934 and issued a call for a Congress. They argued that a 'Republic of a united Ireland will never be achieved except under a struggle which uproots capitalism on its way'. They appealed to anti-imperialists to attend, including those from working-class organisations from the Six Counties urging them to take up the struggle for national freedom. The immediate response was encouraging and work for the Congress began at once. A weekly paper, the *Republican Congress*, was published.

The IRA reply to the Congress appeal was published in *An Phoblacht* on 14 April 1934. It said

'In so far as the statement referred to is an attack on the present social and economic system, and an indictment of the policies of the Governments of the Six and Twenty-Six Counties, the Army Council is in complete agreement with it.'

But the Army Council objected to the Congress criticism of the IRA saying 'this attack by Republicans can only assist the campaign of the Capitalists and Imperialist elements'. The central objection, however, was the issue of forming a new political party

'This Party will, in course of time, contest elections and enter the Free State parliament. Inevitably it will follow the road which has been travelled by other constitutional Parties, which, though setting out with good intentions, ended in failure. It is not very long ago since Fianna Fail leaders told us that they wanted to go into the Free State Parliament only for the purpose of smashing it up. But they now hold this institution and the Free State machinery as sacred.'

This had been the Republican experience and is a view which has been proved correct countless times. It is quite wrong to see the dispute between the Republican Congress and the IRA as one between socialists and militarists. Those who attempt to use the Republican Congress to justify their own attack on the IRA, slander both the Congress and the IRA.

At the Congress which met at Rathmines Town Hall on 29 and 30 September 1934, two positions emerged. The first called for the formation of a new political party — a Workers' Republican Party committed to a fight for an Irish Workers' Republic. The second called for a united front of the Republican masses — workers and small farmers — for a united Irish Republic. The second position eventually was won by 99 votes to 84. But the Congress was split and leading members holding the first position refused to be on the Congress Executive.

The work went on but with little eventual success. Besides the damaging split in the Congress, the reactionary character of the Irish Trade Union movement and the commitment of whole sections of workers and small farmers to Fianna Fail lay behind the failure. It was precisely because of the success of Fianna Fail in holding on to the support of large sections of workers and small farmers, that the call for a united front to fight for an Irish Republic was undoubtedly correct. This was the position Connolly took in practice in 1916. Only in this way would the sham Republicanism of Fianna Fail be exposed. To call for a Workers' Republic as an immediate demand at this stage in the struggle was to be totally out of touch with reality. Peadar O'Donnell explained why:

'We dare not jump through a stage in the fight, raising now the slogan, "Workers Republic", and leaving Fianna Fail to escape, saying they are standing for one kind of Republic, but that we stand for a different one. My quarrel with de Valera is not that he is not a Socialist, for he makes no pretence to be one. My quarrel is that he pretends to be a Republican while actually the interests for which his Party acts — Irish Capitalism — are across the road to a Republic.'

After the failure of the Congress, the IRA and the Republican Congress went their own ways. The Republican Congress having detached itself from the IRA collapsed within two years.

The IRA continued its efforts to unite the national question with the social questions of the day. It led the struggle against the growing fascist movement in Ireland, the Blueshirts, suffering many arrests after clashes with the fascists. It gave support to major strikes offering armed assistance to picket lines and carrying out punishment shootings of scabs. By April 1935, 104 Republicans were in prison. In June 1936, the IRA was once again banned, this time under de Valera. Many rank-and-file IRA members went to fight on the Republican side in Spain.

All the efforts to build a mass anti-imperialist movement in this period failed. The IRA, since the defeat of the revolutionary forces during the civil war had not been able to unite a mass movement behind the military and political struggle to defeat British imperialism, and end Partition. The social and political conditions required simply did not exist. But the IRA did keep alive the revolutionary tradition and did maintain an armed organisation to seize any available opportunity to renew the struggle. However, it was not until the late 1960s that revolutionary Republicanism was again to merge with a mass movement which saw the central enemy as Partition and British imperialism.

to be continued

David Reed
July 1981

POLICE FILE

CP fairy story

With the death of Jack Warner, better known as Dixon of Dock Green, the gutter press let loose a deluge of obnoxious nostalgia for the days when a few gullible souls believed that the British bobby was a man who helped old ladies across the street.

The economic collapse of capitalism has revealed the true face of Dixons of Dock Green — as racist, truncheon-wielding thugs with a knack for telling fairy stories in court. Senior police officers are anxious nevertheless that the 'Dixon' image lives on, and for political reasons have not yet brought their plastic bullets and armoured cars onto the streets.

Communist Party paper the *Morning Star* is very pleased about this, and in an editorial entitled 'The Loss of Innocence' it bewails the death of Dixon and attacks those police 'who would like to see the Dixon image go altogether'. Does the *Morning Star* believe then that this image was ever a reality? Yes. 'As news bulletins echo', they say, 'to the sound of charging SPG men in Brixton... the memory of Dixon and all that he meant is too good to let go that easily'.

Faith in Dixon of Dock Green means one thing — faith in British 'democracy'. The 'Communist' Party, it seems, has plenty of faith in both.

New charity?

The 5 leading British banks, along with Shell, BP and Rio Tinto Zinc, are pouring their money (we should say loot) into a new charity. This is the British Police Foundation. The banks share the 'Communist' Party's fear that intensified police repression will cause 'a breakdown in communications between the police and the public' and this 'charity' has the difficult task of refining the management of police/public relations, or in other words, minimising the political consequences of beating and killing protesting workers.

The prime mover behind this little enterprise is, surprise surprise, a former Labour Home Secretary, Lord Harris, and with the blessing of the Home Office he has £100,000 with which to convince us all that a truncheon embedded deep in the skull is in fact no danger to health.

97% liars

Out of 3000 complaints against the police in 1979, less than 100 were substantiated and only twelve police subsequently convicted. This fact alone clearly shows that 97% of complaints by the public against our wonderful policemen are totally malicious and unwarranted. As Eldon Griffiths MP said to the Police Federation Conference, 'There is no other profession which tries so hard to root out its offenders'... and promote them!

Law'n order

After being elected to the council on a 'bring back the bobby on the beat' ticket, Frank Murphy of Derby was able to get a taste of his own medicine. Son Peter Murphy complained to the police about being beaten up by bouncers in a public house. Two officers called round to see Peter shortly after midnight. Although 'Law'n Order' Murphy offered to bring his son round to the police station the next day, one of the police called a sergeant on the radio. After going upstairs and hauling Mr Murphy onto the landing, the family were handcuffed, forcibly removed to the police station, locked in separate cells and detained for 2½ hours. Mr and Mrs Murphy were charged with assault.

A common enough incident you might think, and hardly worthy of a raised eyebrow, but the Murphy tale has an unusual twist. Mr Murphy succeeded in getting £800 damages out of the police. You scratch my back...



LEEDS ARRESTS

Once again the police have launched a serious attack on Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! This time the attack is in Leeds where Chapeltown police, who have time and again harassed sellers of FRFI, have now arrested three supporters. The three now face serious charges — peddling newspapers without a licence, breach of the peace, obstruction of the police and possession of an offensive weapon.

This latest frame-up arises from the arrest of two supporters whilst they were peacefully selling FRFI from door to door in Sholebroke Place, Chapeltown. FRFI has been sold in Chapeltown for two years and has built up a large regular readership amongst residents who particularly like it for its exposure of the filthy racist deeds of the notorious Chapeltown police. It was Chapeltown police, it should be remembered who murdered a mentally ill black man in 1969 by throwing him into a canal. He had suffered endless beatings at their hands and one particular group of Chapeltown police took delight in seeking him out, urinating on him and beating him. Finally, like the fascist minded sadists they are, they killed him. It is for very good reasons that the Chapeltown residents see the police as NF in uniform.

The Chapeltown police strongly resent the exposure of their racist and brutal activities in FRFI. These latest arrests confirm that their aim is to stop FRFI sales in Chapeltown. The police are acting as political censors.

As the two supporters were selling door to door on 28 May they were confronted by two policemen who demanded their names and addresses. On asking if they were under arrest they discovered that they were indeed being arrested under the notorious SUS law, a law used to harass black youth. As Gordon Teal attempted to take note of this charge PC 3929 punched him in the face saying 'I'll give you what charge.' At the police station he was again punched. Both he and Bill Bolloten were politically interrogated during the five hours they were

held. They were asked whether they were communists, were they trying to 'undermine the police' and 'society as we know it', did they want another 'Brixton in Chapeltown', how many papers did they sell, where the money for them went etc. The police showed great eagerness to discover the extent of support for FRFI in Chapeltown.

In the meantime, a third supporter, Dora Browne, went to Chapeltown police station to enquire about what was happening. The fact that Dora is black immediately aroused these vile racists to further acts of violence. Dora was herself arrested. PCs 3929 and 2115 grabbed her, twisting her arms viciously. She was forced over a sink with her arms twisted behind her and a policeman's knee between her legs. They removed her jewellery trying to forcibly wrench rings off her fingers. After handcuffing her, PC 3929 revealed the extent of his putrid racism and said that his hands felt grimy after touching her. Dora was charged with breach of the peace and possession of an offensive weapon, this latter charge simply for having a penknife in her handbag.

FRFI supporters in Leeds have launched a vigorous defence campaign. A petition has already gained hundreds of signatures. Several well-known figures have called for the charges to be dropped, among them Ken Livingstone, and Leeds NCCL. Pickets have been held at the three preliminary court hearings. These have been supported by Iranian comrades, Irish workers and FRFI supporters. Only the middle class socialists in Leeds, steeped in sectarianism, have

refused to support the pickets. Indeed the SWP and IMG have refused to donate money and even in some cases sign the Leeds 3 petition. We leave FRFI readers to draw their own conclusions from the fact that certain members of the IMG have refused to sign the petition whereas an SDP councillor has! Even more revealing, a Labour councillor in Leeds, a WSL member, twice refused to sign on the grounds that there needed to be a discussion in the labour movement and that it should call for a labour movement enquiry!

The many readers of FRFI in Chapeltown are outraged by this attack. It is from them that we learnt of widespread police enquiries in the area about FRFI. They are trying to concoct a case against the paper's 'offensive content.' FRFI sellers are now regularly spied on doing their sales by the police and again on 27 June were harassed while going door to door — this time being threatened with arrest for collecting money.

The Chapeltown police hate FRFI. Now they are trying this frame-up. FRFI has a message for them — nothing you can do will stop FRFI's growing sales and support in Chapeltown. Indeed everything you do, every racist act you carry out merely increases that support.

A statement calling for the dropping of the charges against the Leeds 3 has been signed by, amongst others:

**Ken Livingstone
Rudy Narayan
Paddy Bolger
Leeds NCCL
Asian Youth Movement, Bradford
United Black Youth League
and various Leeds councillors**

Help us fight to defend the Leeds 3. Money is urgently needed to campaign and pay legal costs. Send us donations to Leeds 3 Defence Campaign, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. Send us messages of support. Ask for petition sheets, fill them and return them to us. We are fighting for the vital democratic right to sell socialist and anti-racist literature. We are fighting to end racist harassment in Chapeltown. It is a fight which deserves and needs your support.

STOP PRESS

On 4 July the police notified Dora Browne that they would be offering no evidence against her on the possession of offensive weapons charge. No doubt this is because the case would be heard by a jury and the police frame-up seen through.

Picket the Court Hearings

Defend the Leeds 3

Friday 17 July at 10am

Friday 18 September at 10am

At Leeds Town Hall

BARRY PROSSER MURDERED

In FRFI No8 we reported the murder of Barry Prosser, a remand prisoner in Winson Green prison, Birmingham. The screw accused of the murder, Melvyn Jackson, had been acquitted by the Birmingham stipendiary magistrate due to 'lack of evidence'.

In fact there was an abundance of evidence to show Jackson's guilt and this was produced at the Coroner's inquest in April. At the inquest it became clear that the most important witness, a prisoner named Patrick Galvin, had been subjected to threats and attempts to discredit him, and had not been called as a witness at the committal trial. Galvin, who heard the assault on Barry Prosser take place, and all other prisoners in the hospital wing where Prosser was killed, were immediately moved to other prisons, showing the complicity of the highest authorities in the cover-up. Galvin was told to keep his mouth shut 'and you'll be out in a year'.

Pathologists at the inquest said that Prosser was killed by a blow inflicted by a knee with such force that it burst the stomach, and that he had bruising all over his body. These injuries were unreported by the butchers who pose as prison medical staff.

The jury at the inquest had no hesitation in passing a verdict of unlawful killing, and the

case was passed to the Department of Public Prosecutions. Jackson has since been recharged with murder along with two other screws. All are out on bail and, of course, suspended on full pay. It remains to be seen how well they are protected by their Home Office masters in their next brush with British 'justice'.

Contribute to our Prisoners Subscription Fund

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! is read and appreciated by many prisoners throughout Britain.

We want to make it more widely available;

For prisoners to stay in touch with struggles inside and outside prison walls;

For prisoners to know they are not alone in fighting this rotten system;

Until the day the crimes of British imperialism are ended;

£3.00 will enable one brother or sister behind bars to receive **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** for a whole year. The papers are sent recorded delivery.

Will you help?

Contribution to Prisoners Subscription Fund £.....

Name

Address

Please send all contributions to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

If you know a prisoner who would like to receive FRFI please send details to the above address.

Interview: The Iranian Revolution

We print below an interview given to FRFI by the Moslem Students Society (Supporters of the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran - PMOI). The PMOI is the foremost revolutionary anti-imperialist organisation in Iran and together with other revolutionary forces is the vanguard of the Iranian revolution.

Q First, can you briefly explain the significance of the removal of Bani-Sadr as President of Iran by the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) controlled Parliament?

A Bani-Sadr's elimination was part of the reactionaries' aim to establish a state of total repression in Iran in order to pave the way for a complete compromise with imperialism. The ruling regime had to rid itself of its internal opposition represented by Bani-Sadr as the first step in its aim to crush all revolutionary forces in Iran, particularly the PMOI and to destroy the revolutionary activities of the people.

Q Can you tell our readers something about the IRP?

A The IRP is the organisational expression of a socio-political current which we term the 'right-reactionary current'. It is based upon the traditional petit bourgeoisie - the most backward sector of Iranian society - comprising sections of Bazaar merchants and small business men and has a world outlook very much influenced by feudalistic notions. This current is irreconcilably opposed to the interests of the workers and peasants but has no interests in opposition to the bourgeoisie and imperialism. In its evolution towards a full compromise with imperialism, its main enemy is the revolutionary forces and their strategy. During the past two years this current has shown itself ready to compromise with imperialism as witnessed in the Hostage Deal and the Talbot contract. There are also reports that a special committee has come to England to take advice from British imperialism in 'riot control'. In order to prevent the revolutionary currents from establishing a close connection with the masses, the IRP from the very beginning moved to shut the field of political freedom and repress fundamental rights.

Q Can you tell us what the IRP has been doing?

A Officially it has monopolised all executive and political power in Iran. It has taken complete control of the media, parliament and the so-

called revolutionary guards. Using these powers they have banned *Mojahed*, the PMOI weekly organ which sells 500,000 copies. They even banned Bani-Sadr's newspaper and now there is no paper in Iran which can legally express opposition to the IRP. Masud Rajavi, member of the PMOI leadership was denied the right to stand as a candidate in the presidential elections despite his tremendous popular support. Universities, which had been in the forefront of anti-dictatorship struggles were closed down. The IRP has stopped workers from forming their own committees and imposed on them so-called Islamic Society Committees which in all disputes between workers and management have sided with management. The regime has also cancelled Section 3 of the land reform programme which involved the distribution of land to poor peasants.

Coupled with this there is the unofficial method of club-wielding. The IRP has created gangs of thugs armed with clubs, knives and other weapons, who have conducted a campaign of terror against revolutionaries and their supporters, leaving scores of PMOI supporters dead. When on 5 March, Bani-Sadr himself exposed the IRP's hand behind the club wielders, they were severely punished by the people. Then the IRP resorted to open terrorism. On 27 April, a 200,000 strong demonstration by the Moslem Mothers Society (Supporters of the PMOI) in protest at the killing of Mojahed militia sisters, was fired on leaving at least one dead and 70 injured.

Q After Bani-Sadr's removal what has happened?

A The repression has intensified and so far over 70 revolutionaries have been executed - amongst them prisoners sentenced to prison terms, but then taken out and executed, 14-15 year old children, prisoners who had not even had a trial or been identified. Also executed was the famous poet and writer Said Soltanpour a member of the Fedayee Guerillas. In addition all street protests and demonstrations have been subjected to armed attack resulting in hundreds

of dead and injured. The number of political prisoners is now estimated to be 10,000 with at least 3,300 being PMOI supporters and members and torture is once again widespread in the IRP prisons.

Q We know of mass resistance to the IRP. Can you tell us something about it?

A Mass opposition to the IRP has been increasing for some time. The strongest expression of this was at the 500,000 strong demonstration on 20 June, organised by the PMOI with one hour's notice. The demonstration was to protest against repression and the elimination of Bani-Sadr. Prior to the demonstration and on it the masses chanted 'Death to Beheshti!' 'Down with the Party of the Club-Wielders!' 'The Party of Club-Wielders Must Be Sent to the Graveyard!' Beheshti had been leader of the IRP and personally responsible for torture and executions. He also, we can prove, had close contacts with American imperialism. As the demonstration approached Parliament, so-called revolutionary guards opened fire killing scores of demonstrators and wounding hundreds of others. On this day the anti-popular nature of the ruling reactionary regime was displayed openly and completely to the masses.

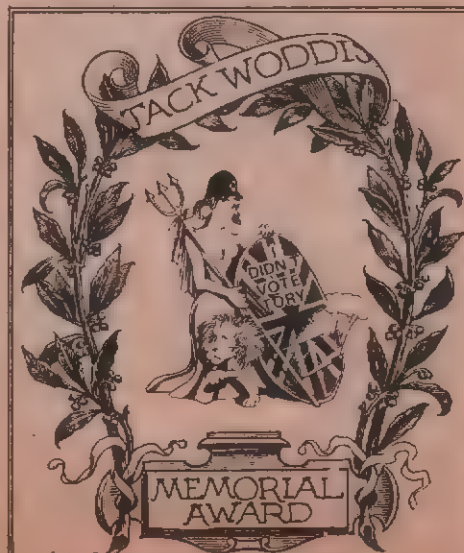
Q So what then is your view of the bombing of the IRP headquarters and the killing of its top leadership, among them Beheshti?

A We do not yet know who has claimed responsibility, but it could not have been the work of counter-revolutionaries. They do not have the military technique to carry out such a sophisticated operation and most importantly they had no interest in attacking the IRP which is increasingly including ex-Savaki members into the system. In addition this was not an attack on innocent civilians - the classical target of counter-revolutionaries. The fact is that on 20 June, the regime established a new relation with the people, that of bullets and blood. So obviously new methods, taking into account the wishes of the people as expressed on 20 June and also involving hundreds of thousands of people have to be considered. In this respect the bombing of the IRP headquarters was a people's bombing. The subsequent execution of Katchui, governor of Evin prison personally responsible for death and torture, was also a revolutionary execution.

Q How do you see the future? What about a civil war?

A The massacre of 20 June represents a turning point. This is the day that the IRP declared

open civil war on the people. If by civil war you mean the armed uprising of the masses, then obviously if the present executions and repression increase that is inevitable. But the future is bright. The IRP has lost all its support as demonstrated by the few people who came to the funeral of the dead IRP leaders, some of whom had been forced to attend. Within the system only Khomeini retains some credibility based on the hope by some people that he will ask the IRP to step down. Khomeini has so far shown no signs of doing so. But the revolutionary forces, particularly the PMOI grow in strength daily. With the elimination of Bani-Sadr, the main differences between the revolutionary organisations have also disappeared. It is now possible to envisage the emergence of a united revolutionary front, to assume the leadership of the people in the anti-imperialist struggle. This leadership is something which was lacking before. The aim is that millions and millions instead of hundreds and hundreds of thousands will follow the revolutionary leadership. Such a following will give the imperialists second thoughts before intervening to stop the revolutionary masses from destroying all imperialist foundations and links in Iran.



This month's Jack Woddie Award for National Chauvinist Hypocrisy goes to the IMG and SWP. Terrified of revolutionary violence, they condemned the people's bombing of the IRP Headquarters.

The IMG said:

'No socialist can possibly support such terrorist methods.'

The SWP said:

'...the bomb...will not do socialists in Iran a favour.'

NOTES & COMMENTS

Imperialist banks

While Tony Benn and the middle class socialists of the CPGB drone on about Britain becoming a 'colony' and 'having a Third World future', the British imperialist banks are setting about their real business quite unmoved. Out of the growing worldwide poverty and starvation British banks are continuing to accumulate vast amounts of wealth. Readers of FRFI 6 will remember that last year British banks were the most profitable in the world, having four of the top ten most profitable banks, with Barclays heading the list. Well this year, in spite of Mr Benn, they have gone one better. Barclays is still the most profitable bank in the world. And five of the top ten are now British, their total profits amounting to over £2,000 million.

Last year the total assets abroad owned by the British private sector increased from £177,390 million to £206,035 million, an increase of nearly £29,000 million. A remarkable 'colony' this which has such enormous assets abroad and insists on increasing them. But then as you will be told by those in the 'Third World', who in fact have no future while the rapacious British banks run wild, British imperialism is unfortunately very much alive and well.

TUC rides imperialist gravy train

The parasitical dependence of the labour aristocracy on imperialism is revealed by the recently leaked details of the TUC's secret investment portfolio. Valued at £¾m, some £440,000 consists of holdings of company

shares. An examination of the shares he d shows the following.

- The firms to which the TUC has lent money operate in over 70 oppressed nations.
- Despite the call by the liberation movement for disinvestment more than 50% of the TUC's equity portfolio is in firms which trade with or invest in South Africa.
- At least three of the firms own or control subsidiaries in Chile where the fascist junta has murdered thousands of workers, and pushed living standards to below starvation levels.
- The portfolio includes investment in firms which rely on the most blatant and ruthless exploitation of oppressed peoples. For example - BROOKE BOND, who pay their workers on their Malawi tea plantations 18p per day! For example - LLOYDS BANK, which has not only participated in a huge Deutschmark loan to South Africa, but which recently gave a loan to the fascist junta in Chile, and which operates a subsidiary Banco de Desarrollo e Inversion SA, in El Salvador.
- Many of the firms operate in countries which are either colonies or ruled by imperialist stooges who repress trade unions and the anti-imperialist movement. These include South Africa, Namibia, the Zionist state of Israel, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Puerto Rico, Hong Kong, Argentina, Bolivia, and Dominican Republic. In these countries, repression and torture are suffered by the workers every day.
- Many of the firms operate in countries

where Britain is waging war to maintain imperialist control, such as Ireland and Oman in the Gulf.

- Some of the subsidiaries are well known exploiters of black and immigrant workers, such as the Wimpy chain. One company controls Mansfield Hosiery Mills, where black workers fought a bitter strike over job discrimination and the union colluded with management, to preserve the privileged position of white workers.

This is the true face of the imperialist TUC.

For Services Rendered

The honours list - that occasion when the British ruling class award each other obscure feudal titles for services to the state - has been drawn up again. And we see that the priorities of the imperialists have not changed.

For services to export (the export of misery and poverty) Chief Executive of Rio Tinto Zinc Alistair Frame has been awarded a knighthood. Frame's service to the empire is that he busted UN sanctions in order to rob Uranium from the people of Namibia for use in British nuclear reactors, that he stole the land of Australian aborigines to obtain bauxite and diamonds, and that he destroyed the land of Panamanian Indians in order to extract their copper.

Also knighted was Shapoor Reporter for selling to the Shah of Iran the Chieftain tanks that were used to butcher the Iranian and Kurdish people. As well as a knighthood Reporter received £1,000,000 for clinching this little deal.

And for selling to oppressed nations the high tar cigarettes that for health reasons can no longer be sold in Britain and America, Peter Macadam of BAT industries became

SIR Peter.

We sincerely hope that Her Majesty's royal carpet was stained badly by the blood soaked hands of these criminals as they knelt to take their prize.

Selling the paper

Selling *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* is always exciting and rarely difficult to do. In general it is welcomed with interest and enthusiasm by thousands of workers in Britain (and we may add in the USA and Ireland).

It is interesting to note where problems in selling the paper do come from. The police and petty state officials naturally detest it and systematically harass and arrest our sellers. But the recent experience of a young black seller shows that the TUC too detest FRFI and seek to prevent its circulation amongst the working class. He and he alone of all the hundreds of paper sellers was instructed to stop selling at the TUC People's March for Jobs on 31 May. TUC stewards took affront after watching him sell enormous numbers of FRFI to enthusiastic buyers. Naturally, the comrade refused to stop selling and asked the TUC steward why he a black seller of *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* was being picked on.

The same seller experienced the same special attention from a steward at the National demonstration in London on 13 June organised by the London H-Block/ Armagh Committee. Again he naturally refused to stop selling and inquired why he of all the numerous paper sellers was being picked on.

The answer of course is the ingrained racism and pro-imperialism of the TUC and the hostility of the middle class socialists to FRFI

BENN

The pink charlatan

There is much talk today about the battle going on in the Labour Party between the Foot/Healey leadership and what is known as the 'left', led by Tony Benn. Is it the case, as we are being led to believe, that a fundamental shift to the left is taking place in the Labour Party? Is it the case that the Labour Party, which throughout its history has backed British imperialist oppression of nations; supported and implemented vile racist legislation; waged war against the Irish people; used troops and police to break strikes in Britain – is this party about to change its colours?

Only the naive or the corrupt would answer yes. The Labour Party is merely changing its image so that in the struggles which lie ahead it may continue to command working class support the more easily to destroy and divert those struggles.

The crisis of imperialism will increasingly lead to working class revolutionary struggle. Already we have seen the uprisings in St Paul's and Brixton, revolutionary uprisings led by the most oppressed section of the working class – black workers. As unemployment, poverty and misery becomes the lot of ever larger sections of the working class they too will have no alternative but to engage in revolutionary struggles, struggles which will threaten the British state itself.

British imperialism will urgently need spokesmen who claim to stand with the workers but whose real aim is to prevent the working class from taking the revolutionary path, the path towards the destruction of the British imperialist state and the establishment of a workers' state.

Only left-sounding spokesmen can play the role of diverting the worker's struggle into the safe paths of peaceful protest and meaningless reform. Over the past few years the Labour Party led by the Callaghans, Healeys and Foots has shown itself to be too openly the servant of the British ruling class to enable it to play this role with any hope of success. Already we have seen Irish and black workers, disgusted at the racist and anti-Irish activities of the Labour Party, turn away from it in large numbers. Other sections would no doubt follow their lead if the Labour Party followed its present course.

That is why the Labour Party is taking a leftward turn. No Callaghan, Foot or Healey could take it on this course. They are too discredited. Which explains why, over the past few years we have seen the evolution of Tony Benn to his present radical posture.

Benn's role is that of left-cover for the blood

stained Labour Party. And only the foolishly trusting or those willing to collaborate with this grotesque pantomime will join this deception. Not surprisingly the middle class socialist organisations, the SWP, IMG, and CP fall into this latter category. In the 'Labour Party goes Left' pantomime it has fallen to them to play pantomime horse to Tony Benn's dame.

The ugly sisters

As we said in the Editorial of FRFI 10:

'If the Labour lefts are the backside of the imperialist Labour Party the middle class socialists search through their droppings to find nuggets of gold.'

Nowhere have they foraged more ardently than amongst the sayings and doings of Tony Benn. Thus *Socialist Worker*:

'Every militant, everyone with a spark of hope for the socialist transformation of society will support Benn in this context'.

Socialist Challenge:

'We give full support to the candidacy of Tony Benn for the Deputy Leadership of the Labour Party.'

Indeed so full has this support been that while Irish men have been dying on hunger strike for political status (a status withdrawn by a Labour Government of which Benn was a Cabinet Minister) the front pages of *Socialist Challenge* have carried banner headlines:

'Defend Benn
'Foot Slanders Benn Campaign!'

They have even produced a *Socialist Challenge* badge saying 'Benn for Deputy'.

It is the middle class socialists, above all others who are allowing Benn to pose as a left winger. And in return, he is doing them a service. For years they have argued that the Labour Party could play a progressive role.

They have consistently advocated a vote for Labour in election after election, irrespective of the vile deeds of Labour in office. But in the face of Labour's record their support was coming embarrassingly close to revealing them for the servants of imperialism which they are. Now at last, under Benn, the Labour Party's image can be revamped and their support for it justified.

No wonder a purposeful amnesia about the real record of Benn has become widespread amongst their ranks. Paul Foot (related by blood and politics to Michael Foot) wrote:

'It will not do any longer for Tories or for socialists to write Tony Benn off simply by looking at his record in office. It was to be sure a wretched and disreputable record.'

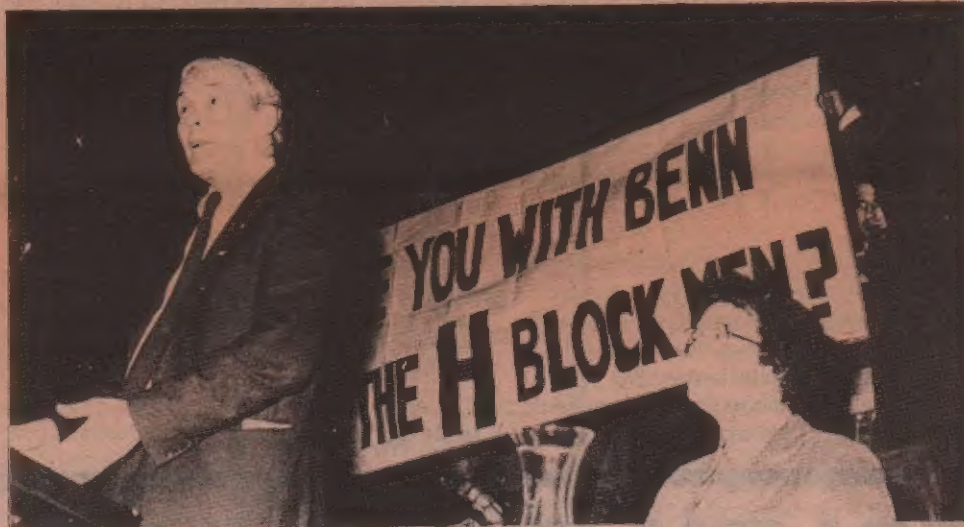
To be sure. Presumably that is why Paul Foot and *Socialist Worker* do not care to dwell on it. And also presumably why they put forward the absurd position of supporting Benn 'without illusions'. Nobody but the middle class socialists could have any illusions left after looking at Benn's record.

Mr Benn's Past

Mr Benn has held six ministerial posts in five Labour Governments, from 1964 onwards. During that period this self-styled champion of democracy:

Voted for the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill – racist legislation designed to keep black people out of Britain and the foundation of subsequent racist immigration laws.

Voted for the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1977 – a law used to harass and intimidate thousands of Irish people and prevent them from exercising their right to engage in pro-Republican activity.



Benn with RCG banner 'Are you with Benn or the H-Block Men' at the Debate of the Decade.

forces in the African republic of Chad.

And in France itself the Socialist Party and Mitterrand have always supported immigration controls – the very root of state racism. In his Manifesto Mitterrand's promises to immigrants were simply pathetic. First, reasons would be given for refusing a residence permit! Second, immigrant workers would have 'equality' with French workers. Rhetoric! Third, the number of immigrants to be allowed in per year would be decided in the national plan. But this will only be for seasonal work. Immigration to France has ended. Fourth, and most important, he promises to reinforce measures preventing illegal entry: ie hounding immigrants in Metros, in the street, at work, at home will continue even more ferociously. Although he has stopped the deportation of children of immigrant families to starve in countries they never knew, this step was undoubtedly taken to prevent the inevitable outburst of young fury and social instability, as the 'repatriations' took place.

Mitterrand is in power to persuade workers to make more sacrifices for capitalism. As the crisis deepens the Thatchers and the Giscard only infuriate the working class. A 'leftwing' government is needed. Mitterrand's government will try its best to damp down the growing desperation and anger of French workers, and to reinforce divisions in the working class to weaken it. His plans to rebuild the French economy must mean crushing any working class resistance.

Sheila Marston

Voted for the expulsion from Britain of Agee and Hosenball, who had, sin of sins, leaked information about the US spy agency, the CIA.

As Minister of Energy, Benn was responsible for signing the agreement with Rio Tinto Zinc, which allowed for the illegal importation of uranium into Britain from Namibia.

A wretched and thoroughly pro-imperialist record indeed! And on Ireland, a murderous record.

Mr Benn on Ireland

Mr Benn sat in the Labour Cabinet which presided over a reactionary imperialist war against the Irish people. He was in the Cabinet when Special Category Status was withdrawn from Irish prisoners and is thus directly responsible for the Hell-Blocks of Long Kesh. Never in that period did he utter one word of condemnation of what was being done in Ireland.

Now safely in opposition, he would have us believe that he is a life-long opponent of Partition! More, he would have us believe that he *did not know* what the Labour Government was doing in Ireland! He claims that the Cabinet only discussed Ireland once. He obviously thinks that the average person is as gullible as the Editor of *Socialist Challenge*.

Mr Benn does not care to tell us that he, jointly with the then Shadow Home Secretary, James Callaghan, visited the Six Counties in November 1971. Evidently he failed to notice thousands of British soldiers on the streets. Evidently he failed to hear about the murders of Irish men and women by these troops.

We say he did know. We say he is a lying hypocrite as guilty of murder as any stinking Concannon or Foot.

Benn has only spoken about Ireland now because, like many other Labour MP's, he is

worried firstly that Britain is going to be unable to cope with a risen Irish people and secondly because the hunger strikes have brought world condemnation of the British state. His solution? To bring in UN troops, to get Britain off the hook and continue to deny self determination to the Irish people.

Yet *Socialist Challenge* fell for this hook, line and sinker.

'Now Ireland is An Issue'

This was the title of their Editorial about Benn's statement. Not an issue because Irish men are dying in Long Kesh. No. Not an issue because the youth are on the streets fighting. No indeed. An issue because Benn has tried to cover his dirty tracks by cheap statements. *Socialist Challenge* raved:

'Whatever the qualifications Benn made or the conditions he attached... he is the most prominent British politician so far to call for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.'

Of course, Benn also refused to say a word about the Irish prisoners. But anything will do for *Socialist Challenge*.

The middle class socialists have always claimed to support the Republican movement. In fact they have consistently attacked and slandered it. No such ambiguity exists with their support for Benn. For him, their support is real and unflinching. Support for the imperialist Benn and opposition to the anti-imperialist forces in Ireland. This sums up the middle class socialists.

MITTERRAND-FRANCE'S TONY BENN

The victory of Francois Mitterrand and his Socialist Party in the French Presidential and General Elections was greeted with enthusiasm by all British middle-class socialists. The IMG for example said 'An immense hope has been born', while the SWP claimed that the victory was due to 'a programme designed to make France a more just and decent society'. The reality of the French elections is somewhat different.

Mitterrand and his Socialist Party swept to power on a wave of disgust at rising unemployment, increasing poverty and 23 years of rightwing rule. To many French workers Mitterrand's promises were a straw to clutch at in the deepening crisis. He promised money, jobs, peace, freedom... However, the Socialist Party Government can do one of two things. Either satisfy workers' demands, giving them jobs and a decent standard of living. Or it can try to build up France's imperialist economy using the policies we've suffered under ourselves from Labour and Tory Governments.

Mitterrand leaves no doubt that France's imperialist economy is his main concern. He aims to make France 'the first country to get out

of the crisis'. He wants to modernise and streamline French industry to make it among the most competitive in the world. So when he promises a 35-hour week, it is only on condition that productivity rises tremendously. More than 40 hours work will be crammed into 35 hours for no extra money of course. And he will raise the minimum wage to a level that a family can barely subsist on, for it will not compensate for inflation over the past few years.

As for the most oppressed section of the working class – the black and immigrant workers – they have little to celebrate. Their only satisfaction was the utter defeat of the racist so-called 'Communist' Party which lost more than half its Parliamentary seats. Its attempts to win the racist vote disgusted thousands of class-conscious workers, who for the first time refused to vote Communist. And now Mitterrand has included these racists in his government. The Socialist Party is seen by many as the non-racist alternative. Their record refutes this. In 1946 the Socialist Party had opposed Indochina's independence. The consequence was to be the Vietnam war. In power in 1956 Mitterrand bitterly opposed Algeria's independence and said that France's only negotiation with liberation forces would be war. During the last few years Mitterrand attacked Giscard for not being 'firm' enough in crushing the liberation

REPORTS FROM IRELAND



REPUBLICAN NEWS

Paddy Agnew's mother after the election victory is announced

ELECTION VICTORY

In the period following the deaths of the first four hunger strikers and before the critical stage was reached by the second wave of hunger strikers the main focus of attention was on the general election in the twenty-six counties. Despite opposition from several members of the National H-Blocks/Armagh Committee, who wanted 'prominent personalities' to contest the election on behalf of the prisoners, nine prisoners were eventually selected to fight the election.

All the bourgeois political parties and media commentators in the twenty-six counties and Britain confidently predicted that the impact of the prisoners' campaign would be minimal and that they would get very few votes. This complacency was shattered when the results were announced. The prisoners amassed over 40,000 first-preference votes and two were actually elected to the Dail with over 10,000 votes each.

These results came as a profound shock to the bourgeois politicians and media of the twenty-six counties, who described the vote for the prisoners in terms ranging from 'startling' to 'stunning'. What the results clearly showed was that where Republican prisoners from the North make a simple and direct appeal to voters in working class and poor rural areas of the twenty-six counties they can command support which ranged from considerable to massive.

The vote for the prisoners, however, went far beyond a demonstration of support for political status for Republican prisoners. The votes for the prisoners came almost entirely from border areas, working class areas, and poor rural areas

in the West of Ireland - areas which have been and still are hardest hit by the British imperialist domination of Ireland. By contrast, even the very limited concern expressed by Sile De Valera in relation to the hunger strike was enough to secure her defeat in the middle class constituency of South Dublin.

Even the limited intervention by Republican candidates from the North in the election was therefore enough to confirm what many had begun to suspect (and what the middle class in the twenty-six counties had begun to fear) - that people in working class and poor rural areas in the twenty-six counties, particularly young people, are increasingly coming to the same conclusion as their counterparts in the six counties, namely that the root cause of their economic and social problems lies in the continuing domination of Ireland by the British imperialist state and its capitalist allies in Ireland.

Irish Correspondent

BRITISH TERROR

British imperialism has replied to the growing support for the hunger strikers with naked terror. Young and old, men and women, have been maimed and murdered by the British army and RUC since early May. The campaign of imperialist terror has been suppressed by the lying British media. This is not surprising. This terror campaign destroys the British ruling class's hypocritical claim to represent democracy, justice and peace.

Friday 8 May 68 year old Patrick Docherty shot with a plastic bullet at close range and hit in the chest. He fell to the ground and was spat on and assaulted. Taken to hospital with a fractured skull.

Same day a 21 year old Derry man lost an eye after being shot in the face with a plastic bullet. **Same day** 22 year old John Wasson paralysed down one side after being shot in the head and chest with plastic bullets.

This was the beginning of an unending wave of terror.

Saturday 9 May 15 year old Dominic Marron put on a life support unit after being shot in the head with a plastic bullet. Now has brain damage.

Friday 15 May 15 year old Paul Lavelle had an emergency brain operation after being shot in the head with a plastic bullet.

Same day 19 year old Damien McKenna shot in the head with a plastic bullet then kicked unconscious.

On the night of Tuesday 11 May alone over 50 people were treated in Royal Victoria Hospital for plastic bullet wounds.

Murder

Wounding and maiming did not drive the people off the streets so the British army and RUC turned to murder.

Tuesday 11 May fourteen year old Julie Livingstone shot in the head with a plastic bullet. British soldiers and RUC opened fire at close range on a group of women and children. Julie died the next day.

Tuesday 11 May Emmanuel McLarnon shot dead in the Falls Road.

Tuesday 18 May twelve year old Carol-Ann Kelly was shot in the head with a plastic bullet. The ambulance sent to collect her was stopped and delayed by the British army. Carol-Ann



Carol-Ann Kelly

died the next day.

Saturday 22 May Joe Lynch killed by RUC Land-Rover. His body was dragged along thirty yards by the Land-Rover. The RUC drove off and left him dying in the gutter.

Wednesday 3 June another Joe Lynch, 65 years old, shot dead in Derry by a British Army sniper.

Children the target of imperialist terror

Wednesday 12 May four and a half year old David Madden was shot in the back of the head with a plastic bullet.

Same day five year old Neil Lynagh shot in the thigh with a plastic bullet. The bullet ripped away the skin graft over a serious burn wound.

Sunday 24 May British attempt to burn a twelve month old baby. Dolores Burns was lying in pram when British soldiers attempted to push a burning car on top of the pram.

The reign of terror, accompanied by mass raids and brutal beatings, is a deliberate attempt to terrorise the revolutionary forces of the nationalist working class. As always it is failing. The oppressed nationalist workers will carry on fighting until British imperialism has been defeated. The campaign of terror, however, underlines the urgency of mobilising all revolutionary, anti-imperialist and democratic forces in Britain in support of the Irish people.

FOLEY THE SCAB

The murder of Bobby Sands and his three comrades on hunger strike for political status led to an explosion of fierce street fighting in Belfast and Derry. Dublin too witnessed fighting of an intensity not seen since 1972. Thousands of working class nationalist youth, demonstrating great political maturity, armed with petrol bombs, acid bombs and other weapons battled against the British army, the RUC and the 26 County gardai. The youth had drawn the practical conclusions of their own experience - peaceful campaigning, however strong, by itself would not save the lives of the hunger strikers and would not force the British government to grant political status.

Not so for the middle class socialists of the Fourth International and IMG. In a series of articles for *Socialist Challenge* a Mr Gerry Foley displays middle class socialism's hatred for the revolutionary youth, its slavish adherence to peaceful campaigning, however futile, and its desperate hope to prevent forms of mass revolutionary struggle which could win political status. According to Mr Foley, what took place in Belfast, Derry and Dublin, was:

'... futile explosions of rage... uncontrolled protests... futile outbreaks of rage... outbreaks of desperation...'

This middle class hysteria and terror at the sight of working class insurrection is underlined with utter contempt for the youth. Mr Foley goes as far as to suggest that they fell victim to British strategy to:

'... provoke the Catholic population into futile explosions of rage that will break harmlessly against its massive armoured power, leaving behind it exhaustion and helplessness.'

Perhaps Mr Gerry Foley believes that the uprisings in Soweto, in St Paul's and Brixton were also futile. Behind this is the fear that the youths' battles in support of the hunger strikers could precipitate an all Ireland insurrection against British imperialism.

Mr Foley's parliamentary cretinism surfaced during the Southern elections. He attacked Sinn Fein's abstentionist stand and wanted candidates elected to take seats in the neo-colonial Dail. Clearly trying to sow discord within the ranks of the H-Block campaign he said (referring to a 'wing of Provisional Sinn Fein'):

'It was, and is, afraid of personalities like Bernadette McAliskey... If Bernadette had stood... and had been elected, the campaign would have taken a qualitative leap.'

Mr Foley's opposition to revolutionary struggle and his love for peaceful campaigning only reflects middle-class socialism's preference for an alliance with impotent and treacherous bourgeois politicians. He writes:

'Sands' death was followed by the growth of sporadic violent protests. This has momen-

tarily frightened sections of the population and disoriented the movement.'

The nationalist working class was not 'frightened' by the street fighting. They proved this when they marched in their hundreds of thousands at the funerals of the 4 hunger strikers. They proved this by their votes for the prisoners in the Southern elections. No! Those who were frightened were the middle classes of the SDLP, the Fianna Fail and the Fine Gael who have never supported the hunger strikers and who have repeatedly called on them to end their struggle.

Mr Foley is a member of the Fourth International, whose IMG cohorts in Britain have consistently called for an alliance between petit bourgeois socialists and the murdering racist Labour Party. Mr Foley has been a consistent opponent of the revolutionary struggle in Ireland. In 1972 he praised the Official IRA for abandoning the armed struggle, which he described as 'terrorist':

'... the renunciation of terrorism could improve the political position of the (Official) IRA by making clear the real source of the violence in Northern Ireland... it could have a positive effect on the nationalist community and world public opinion.'

As a propagandist for the Stickies he spoke of their:

'... devotion to the ideals of revolutionary democracy...'

It is no surprise therefore that 9 years on, when the struggle in Ireland is reaching a crossroads, this same Mr Foley wants to abandon the revolutionary methods of the nationalist youth in

favour of an alliance with imperialist bourgeois politicians.

But the revolutionary nationalist people are not heeding Mr Foley's advice. The answer of the oppressed to Foley and his ilk cannot be clearer than in the following extracts of a letter printed in Andersonstown News:

'During that awful period, when 4 young Irishmen sacrificed their very lives for freedom, the youth of our areas quite rightly took to the streets. They fought bravely against the British boot boys and the RUC fascists... using the only weapons they had, bottles, stones and petrol.'

Surely no one could deny that as Bobby Sands lay dying there was a total news blackout on his condition. It was only the mass street fighting which blew the lid off this black out... thus showing Bobby's plight to the four corners of the world.

It has only been rioting that achieved anything for us, only rioting that kept British and RUC out... We don't need to appear 'respectable' to anyone. Did the Iranians worry about appearing to act 'respectable' and dignified as they fought to get rid of the Shah?

I think it's the duty of every Irishman and woman to take this stinking little orange town apart if any more hunger strikers die. It would be more constructive for our leaders to direct and organise the street fighting. Teach the youth how to fight effectively. But never ever tell them not to resist the invaders.'

LETTERS

CP tells IRA Lay down your arms

Dear Comrade,
Thank you for publishing my letter in your May/June issue. Your last paragraph of your reply to that letter asks questions and seems to be inviting reply. You ask in that paragraph 'Does this mean that your organisation remains, as ever, the faithful servant of the British imperialist state?'

In the political context one can become a 'faithful servant' in one of two ways. Intentionally, or unintentionally, by pursuing wrong policies. I trust that we are engaged in serious discussion and therefore I assume that you are accusing us of pursuing mistaken policies, and in that way actually help the enemies of the working class. That, of course, is always a possibility. But it is true of all organisations, including your own. Only time and results will show which policy was correct. Meantime, what is required is debate and activity, the combination of theory and practice, not name calling.

Your other accusation which invites reply was: 'nowhere in your (that is to say, my) letter do you attempt to justify or deny the CPGB's call on the IRA to surrender.'

This statement hinges on the

meaning of the words 'to surrender'. With two basic aims of the IRA we are in agreement. The discrimination against Roman Catholics, and, may I add, anti-unionist Protestants, is unjust. This discrimination divides the working class, serves the interests of the Tories and big business, and has been supported by Tories, Right Wing Labour, and the Liberals. We agree that Ireland must be united.

We have never called upon the IRA to surrender these aims.

But we do disagree with the Provisionals' use of violence to achieve those aims. We regard the campaign of violence as counter productive. And we know, as you yourselves probably know, that there is a minority within the Provisionals who wish to change from violence to peaceful methods. We call upon the Provisionals to put away the guns and bombs, and pursue the struggle by other means. This does not in any way constitute surrender.

I hope that this provides you with a clear explanation of our position.
Yours Fraternally,
Bert Ward. Secretary. CP National Advisory Committee on Ireland.

Paper sales in Workington

Dear comrade
The paper was the answer to a lot of things I'd been wondering about over the past month; it is really good.

I must admit we are giving a lot of papers away now. Bill used to sell a lot on the building site where he works, but most of them have been made redundant, they still want the paper but won't buy it in the circumstances they are short term workers who never collect a penny in a pay off. There is no hope whatsoever of anyone getting a job round here in the near future, with the closure of the steel works it brings unemployment up from 14% to over 20%.

We feel that as long as we are in work and people want to read the paper we will subsidise its sale.

Now and again you get some young person, who'll say it is the best thing they've ever read and they make sure of getting following issues and we feel uplifted by this.

If the poem by Bobby Sands is part of a book, could you let us know, we are interested in reading more. It is so simple in its style, but so realistic, no-one could miss the point of it. With regards from
NT (Workington)

Letter from Wormwood Scrubs prisoner

Comrades,
You are at present engaged in a vicious struggle against the reactionary Thatcher government to preserve your jobs and living conditions here in Britain. Thatcher's monetarist policies are geared to destroying working class communities, living standards and even employment in order to make Britain a country safe for profiteers, exploiters and Rascals. Your local authorities are being attacked because they will not acquiesce in the face of this onslaught despite massive rejection of this government at the polls on May 7th. It is clear that Thatcher has no respect for the working people of this country or for their democratically expressed wishes, how then can anyone believe that she has a different outlook towards the people of Ireland. She rules N Ireland with

the same concern for the interests of the ruling class, and the interests of the Irish people are cruelly trampled on to that end. Any resistance is dealt with using the army, an armed and discredited sectarian paramilitary police force and Europe's only concentration camp, Long Kesh. It is inside that Hell Hole that Thatcher's most vicious battle is now being waged. Under the guise of treating murder as murder this government is presiding over a system of almost unbelievable cruelty, while unleashing murder on the streets of Belfast and Derry where the army have murdered 4 children and injured scores more in the past month. Her cry that murder is murder is a blatant lie from a government which has yet to bring to book any soldier for the killing of 14 innocent marchers in Derry in 1972, or the torture of hundreds of prisoners in interrogation centres despite several exposures of such activity by the European Commission of Human Rights, Amnesty International, even British enquiries.

The fact is that political prisoners in N Ireland are treated differently from the moment of their arrest, by armed soldiers, without warrants, their detention under special laws, interrogation under special rules and trial by special courts which sit without a jury. These rules only apply to those charged with political offences. Peter Sutcliffe, a mass killer, would be entitled to trial by jury in N Ireland but under the Emergency Provisions Act Robert Sands, who was only charged with illegal possession of a firearm (not with murder, attempted murder or anything else) was denied such a trial because his offence was politically motivated. As the law of the land differentiates between the blanketmen and criminals before conviction (when it suits the state) how can they deny this difference afterwards? It is clear from this and the selfless and heroic manner in which they have suffered the degradations of the punishments meted out because of their Blanket protest and the way in which they are willing to die (and are dying) for their comrades in a painful and tortuous hunger strike that they are not criminals but principled prisoners of war. The people of Fermanagh and South Tyrone showed that they recognised this when they elected Bobby Sands to be their chosen representative in the British parliament and the people of Ulster showed their support for this when 100,000 turned out to pay their respects at his funeral. That was one fifteenth of the population of N. Ireland and in this country (Britain) would have been the equivalent of a 4 or 5 million strong turnout - massive support.

I ask you to think about these words and to think about the callous disregard for your rights shown by this government, and to realise that we (the Republican people of Ireland) are your allies not your enemies. The Irish and British people are both suffering under this government. Let us resist it together. Thatcher Out! British Troops Out of Ireland! Full Employment In! POW Status for Irish Political Prisoners!

Republican POW Wormwood Scrubs

SEND US YOUR NEWS

We welcome letters from readers. Please keep them as short as you can

Please note our new address is: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

Our reply

The argument in Bert Ward's letter is not only false but avoids the real issue - that being 'which side are you on' in the Irish war against British imperialism.

He says the CP supports the aims of the IRA - a united Ireland - but not its methods - the armed struggle, and then calls upon the IRA to 'put away the guns and bombs'. This Bert Ward does not view as a call upon the IRA to surrender! Would Bert Ward regard a call upon the ANC (South Africa) or the FMLN in El Salvador to 'put away the guns and bombs' as anything but a demand that they surrender to imperialism? Does Bert Ward not recognise that imperialism never has and never will voluntarily and peacefully yield to the wishes of oppressed peoples?

Bert Ward's position is mere sophistry. It enables the CP to attack British imperialism (and thus appear progressive) whilst attacking the IRA and giving aid and succour to British imperialism. Communists have never adopted such a position in relation to the anti-imperialist struggle. Lenin said:

'National self-determination is the same as the struggle for complete national liberation... and socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists - reject such a struggle in whatever form, right down to an uprising or war.' The practical effect of the CP's position is inevitably to side with British imperialism. Hence Chris Myant in Comment (May 19, 1981) writes:

'... it is most important that this initiative (The Don't Let the Irish Prisoners Die Committee) is given the full support of all those who want to see the forces of confrontation in Northern Ireland weakened and those of progressive unity strengthened.' So the CP wants the IRA 'weakened', ie it shares the same aim as that of British imperialism. No doubt Bert Ward will say that he disagrees with

British imperialism's methods for attaining this aim. We would reply - you cannot support the aim *without* supporting the methods.

In reality, the CP has supported those methods. Even down to siding with the British police in their repression of H-Block supporters in Britain. On Sunday 7 June a Glasgow H-Block activist was arrested at a CND rally. It was clear and open political harassment. Yet the Morning Star rather than attacking the police, attacked the 400 odd youth who tried to stop the police arresting an

activist engaged in peaceful work. The Morning Star wrote:

'The police were surrounded by an angry crowd demanding her release, but an ugly clash was averted as the woman was driven away in a police van.'

How disgusting! We know of several letters of protest sent to the Star. Not one of them has been printed.

Yes we do engage in 'serious discussion', that is why we publish Bert Ward's letters. We would go further and challenge the CP to a *public* debate at a time and venue mutually agreed and publicised in advance.

£1700 NEEDED

At last we are delighted to announce that **Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!** will go monthly from the September issue. At this critical time, when imperialism is rocking from Belfast to Brixton, from Soweto to San Salvador - this news will be welcomed by communist and anti-imperialist forces who already value FRFI.

At this difficult yet crucial time we have been forced to move offices due to demolition. This too has been an enormous drain on our resources.

We thank all those who have helped us to raise over £1300 towards our £3000 appeal. We ask all our ten thousand readers to help us achieve our target by September. Your money will be used for refurbishing, decorating and urgently needed equipment at the monthly paper's new office.

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HANDS OFF IRELAND!



GREAT ESCAPE

The morale of the nationalist working class in the six counties received a tremendous boost on 10th June when eight Republican prisoners, all facing long sentences in the H-Blocks, made a dramatic escape from Crumlin Road prison in Belfast.

Using guns which had been smuggled into the prison they first took several of the screws prisoner and then, with two of them wearing uniforms taken from the screws, they made their way through security gates to the main entrance. On the way they took the opportunity to inflict exemplary punishment on a screw who had been particularly vicious in his treatment of Republican prisoners.

Outside the main gate there was a gun battle between several of the escapees and British soldiers and RUC men but, aided by volunteers from the Belfast Brigade of the IRA who had been put on alert outside the prison, all eight escapees got safely away. The embarrassment of the prison authorities was equalled by that of the RUC when it was later discovered that several of the escapees had switched cars in a street near the city centre under the noses of dozens of RUC men who were carrying out a raid on illegal gambling machines at the time.

The delight of the nationalist working class people of Belfast, on the other hand, was clearly demonstrated a few days later at an H-Blocks march in West Belfast. As the marchers paraded past Andersonstown RUC station many of them held up large posters which depicted what had already become known as 'The Great Escape'. The following week the IRA announced that all eight escapees were now safely out of the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

The following week the IRA announced that all eight escapees were now safely out of the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

FORCES OF VICTORY

In May Dublin saw the emergence of a new force in the prisoner campaign – the disposed working class youth of Dublin. These youth from the worst areas of poverty in Dublin have brought a new revolutionary spirit to the hunger strike campaign in the 26 Counties. It is no wonder that they are castigated and condemned on all sides – from the puppet 26 County government through the bourgeois media to the middle class liberals desperate for compromise. The youth have come onto the streets in search of victory not compromise.

The 26 County economy, tied by a thousand threads to British imperialism, is collapsing. Unemployment, already over 10%, is expected to nearly double by December. Inflation is 21% and rising. Poverty grows in leaps and bounds. In 1980 1,000,000 people were living in poverty. Since then real income and the value of welfare benefits has fallen. For the dispossessed the 26 County regime means only poverty, misery and unemployment. These youth have therefore turned to the revolutionary lead given by the nationalist workers of the Six Counties. They know that Bobby Sands and his comrades died not only to destroy imperialism in the Six Counties but to destroy it through the length and breadth of Ireland. 'Gardai – RUC' their most popular slogan shows their understanding of the connection between the 26 County regime and British imperialism. The street fighting in May showed their determination to take on the Irish forces of reaction.

Following the murder of Bobby Sands on Tuesday 5 May the Dublin youth took action. On Thursday 7 May a group of gardai in riot gear were driven out of the Sean McDermott Street/Gloucester Diamond area by masked youths hurling petrol bombs. This area is at the heart of the worst slums in Dublin. The youth hijacked and burned buses and cars in protest at the murder of Bobby Sands. They attacked shops which had refused to close on the day of mourning. The revolutionary youth were giving warning to the imperialist Haughey regime, and its hired thugs in the gardai.

On Tuesday 12 May, following the murder of

Francis Hughes, a peaceful march to the British Embassy in the luxurious Ballsbridge area was met by a horde of helmeted, baton wielding gardai. The youth met this threat with a hail of stones. The gardai, in the tradition of imperialist police forces all over the world, baton-charged and viciously beat anyone they could get hold of. A nurse who tried to attend to the wounded victims of gardai brutality was beaten to the ground. The youth moved back into the city centre attacking symbols of British domination as they went. In particular two of the imperialist banks, Lombards and Ulster bank, were attacked.

Wednesday 13 May, the youth came armed with the weapons of the revolutionary youth of the Six Counties: petrol bombs and bricks. As another protest march moved into O'Connell Street, surrounded by massed ranks of gardai, the youth hurled petrol bombs into the British Home Stores. Litter bins, bricks and other missiles were thrown at the gardai and British-owned shops. With the tactical knowledge born of experience the youth disappeared into the tenements and estates of Sean McDermott Street/Gardiner Street. The gardai proceeded to beat up any demonstrators caught in O'Connell Street. Men, women and children were knocked to the ground, batoned and kicked.

The emergence of the youth in the hunger strike campaign has sent a wave of fear through the Irish ruling class and all those who fear the revolutionary hatred and anger of the youth.

Terry Marlowe



HUNGER STRIKERS MURDERED

In May Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara were cruelly murdered by British imperialism. Whilst British television and radio were filled with the nauseating cant of the corrupt barbarians of the British ruling class, these four heroes of the Irish working class were slowly and brutally murdered.

In his hunger strike diary, smuggled out of Long Kesh, Bobby Sands wrote, in words that will live for ever in the hearts and memories of the oppressed:

'I believe I am but another of those wretched Irishmen born of a risen generation with a deeply rooted and unquenchable desire for freedom. I am dying not just to attempt to end the barbarity of H-Block, or to gain the rightful recognition of a political prisoner, but primarily because what is lost in here is lost for the Republic and those wretched oppressed whom I am deeply proud to know as the "risen people".'

... I may die, but the Republic of 1916 will never die. Onward to that Republic and liberation of the people.'

The massive crowds of Irish working class people who attended the funerals of these four freedom fighters, the wave of street fighting by the revolutionary youth in the Six Counties and

Dublin, is testimony to the fact that these four comrades died in the long struggle of the Irish people for freedom and have the overwhelming support of the people. Their sacrifice in the fight for political status will stand as an example to all the oppressed and all who suffer under imperialism throughout the world.

The Revolutionary Communist Group salutes the unbreakable spirit and invincible courage of these four Irish freedom fighters. Their deep understanding of, and unyielding hatred for British imperialism shows that the imperialists however bloody and vicious can never, in the end, defeat the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed. The RCG sends its deepest sympathy and condolences to the families, comrades and friends of these four martyred Irish heroes.

Victory to the hunger strikers!

Political status now!

Victory to the risen Irish people!

Death to British Imperialism!